I

THE BISHOP HILL COLONY

A RELIGIOUS COMMUNISTIC SETTLEMENT IN HENRY COUNTY, ILLINOIS

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES
IN
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
HERBERT B. ADAMS, Editor

History is past Politics and Politics present History.—*Freeman*

TENTH SERIES

I

THE BISHOP HILL COLONY

A RELIGIOUS COMMUNISTIC SETTLEMENT IN HENRY COUNTY, ILLINOIS

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JOHNS HOPKINS
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PREFACE.

The author does not find it necessary to make any apology for the appearance of this little contribution to the history of the Scandinavian settlements in the Northwest. The Bishop Hill Colony will always occupy a prominent place in any history of the State of Illinois. It was founded when Chicago was but an overgrown village, and when there was not a single city worthy of the name in the State. It brought 1100 able-bodied immigrants into the county of Henry when the entire population of the county was only four times that number. It put large quantities of ready money into circulation at a time when business was largely conducted by barter and when the principal medium of exchange was the skins of fur-bearing animals. It inaugurated that mighty tide of Swedish immigration which has flooded the State of Illinois and the entire Northwest with prosperous Swedish homesteads and flourishing villages. The Bishop Hill Colony built mills, erected manufactories, and put thousands of acres of virgin soil under cultivation. It engaged in banking, and its history connects itself with that of early railroading in the State. In the days of its greatest prosperity it was the principal commercial and industrial center in all the distance between the cities of Peoria and Rock Island. Yet, in spite of its importance for the early industries of the State, the Bishop Hill Colony was primarily a religious society. The history of the Jansonists before their emigration belongs to the ecclesiastical history of Sweden. What they sought in the New World was not wealth, but freedom to worship God after their own manner. They held views that were repugnant to the Church of Sweden. It was the realization of these views which they sought in the New World. Of the

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character of these views, as well as of the result of the experiment, the reader of this historical sketch will be able to judge for himself.

The Bishop Hill Colony was incidentally an experiment in practical communism. Perhaps also this side of its history may not be void of interest or profit in our day, when social improvement is sought largely along similar lines. It is now, indeed, thirty years since the society was dissolved, and circumstances have been modified by the advance of civilization and the progress of the industrial revolution. But human nature is substantially the same to-day as in the day of our fathers and grandfathers, and many of the difficulties which the Jansonists encountered must be met again in any attempt to apply the theories of modern socialism to practical life.

The author has attempted to give an impartial presentation of the important facts in the history of Jansonism. These facts have not been easy of access. No complete history of the Jansonists has been written, and a large part of their documents has been either accidentally or purposely destroyed. Hence, much of the information contained in this volume has needs been gathered from the lips of surviving members of the Bishop Hill Colony. In many instances the reports were of a conflicting nature, for the Jansonists are now split up into several religious parties, and each has its separate views to uphold. But care has been taken not to accept any statement unless supported by proper collateral evidence.

Another serious obstacle encountered was the unwillingness of the Jansonists to reveal any of the "absurdities" of their religion. The author stayed several weeks among them before he was able to discover the real historic meaning of Jansonism; and Charles Nordhoff, who devotes a few pages to them in his Communistic Societies of the United States, is reported to have said, on leaving Bishop Hill, "D—— these people; I can't get anything out of them." The fact of it is that the Jansonists have outgrown their creed, and many of them are now ashamed of the views for which they were once

willing to sacrifice their all. Furthermore, they have been so frequently maligned and reviled that they can hardly be blamed for having grown suspicious of the motives of strangers.

In view of this, the author's thanks are due in a special sense to Mr. Jonas Olson, now in his eighty-eighth year, but remarkably well preserved, for the liberality with which he drew upon his memory for the facts connected with the inner history of the Jansonists. Jonas Olson stood near to the person of the founder of Jansonism, and, after the great leader's death, succeeded to his authority. It is not too much to say, therefore, that without Mr. Olson's invaluable assistance this monograph could not have been written. Recognition is due also to Mrs. S. J. Anderson, Messrs. John P. Chaiser, J. W. Olson, and others for valuable assistance. The author further acknowledges his indebtedness to Messrs. John Helsen and Andreas Berglund for the use of manuscripts and original documents relating to the history of the Jansonists. Mr. Berglund's collection of original documents contained a part of the correspondence and the incompleted autobiography of Eric Janson. Mr. Helsen's manuscript notes were especially valuable. Their author is not a literary man and his collection was not intended for publication. But for many years past, in the leisure of his retirement from active life, Mr. Helsen has been perfecting his notes for the use of "some future historian."

Through the kindness of an anonymous friend the author has also had access to a certified copy of the complete transactions of the Bishop Hill Colony, the original records being no longer in existence. Mention is made elsewhere of the printed books and documents which have any bearing on the history of the Jansonists.

It might appear strange that, in spite of its scientific and general interest, no adequate attempt has been made to present a complete history of Jansonism. But it must be remembered that the Jansonists were illiterate people, who,

even if they had desired to publish a history of themselves, were unequal to the task of writing one. Furthermore, the War of the Rebellion, which broke out at the time of the dissolution of the society, and other important events which followed in its wake, engrossed public attention to the exclusion of all other matters of less general importance. Still, the memory of the Bishop Hill Colony cannot die, for it is part of the pioneer history of a great and flourishing State, and is cherished in the hearts of the descendants of the Jansonists, who are to be found scattered throughout the length and the breadth of the United States.

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THE BISHOP HILL COLONY.

I.—Devotionalism in Helsingland from 1825 to 1842.

The history of devotionalism in Helsingland from 1825 to 1842 revolves around the person of one man. Jonas Olson was born December 18, 1802, in Söderala Parish, in the province of Helsingland. The environments of his boyhood were not of a character to encourage the development of a religious disposition. His father, Olof Olson, a coarse and illiterate peasant, was an habitual drunkard, who when in his cups was in the habit of brutally maltreating wife and children. Nor was his mother a Monica to lead him to Christ, although she loved her son after a fashion, and encouraged him in his endeavors to obtain an education. For Jonas was a bright lad, and was not satisfied with knowing how to read the hymn-book and the catechism, but aspired to learning how to write and cipher, uncommon accomplishments among the peasantry at that time. It was in these unlawful aspirations that his mother encouraged her son, by procuring the necessary writing materials, which as soon as they were discovered by the angry father were ruthlessly destroyed, with the remark that such things were not intended for peasants' sons. At the age of fifteen, when he had been confirmed in the faith of the Established Lutheran Church, Jonas was compelled to shift for himself. For five years he served an uncle on the father's side as a farm-laborer. It was here, among the peasant-fishermen on the banks of the river Ljusne, near the Gulf of Bothnia, that he learned the art of preparing salmon for the market in Stockholm. For

two years he served an elder sister, and then, at the age of twenty-two, returned home to take charge of his father's estate, for the eldest son—there were three sons and two daughters—had, like his father, become incapacitated for work by strong drink. He found everything in a deplorable condition, but with the vigor of youth he set to work to repair the buildings and reclaim the waste land. In the summer-time, while employing common laborers to attend to the work in the fields, he himself bought large quantities of salmon, which he cured and disposed of to good advantage on the market in Stockholm; so that ere many years had passed it was rumored that Jonas Olson was one of the most prosperous men in the parish. The year 1825 was the epoch-making period of his life. If there was any one vice which the peasantry was addicted to more than another it was the vice of intemperance. But hand-in-hand with intemperance went general laxity of morals. The clergy was no better than the peasantry. The Rev. Mr. Sherdin never waived his privilege of dancing the first round with the bride at weddings, and drank as deep as any of his parishioners. The tithes of grain which the good pastor received he sold again to his flock in the form of distilled liquor. Moreover, it was known that at least one unfortunate girl had owned the associate pastor to be the father of her child. It was at a dance in the winter of 1825 that liquor was passed around in sacrilegious mockery of the Lord's Supper. The incident made a deep impression on Jonas Olson's mind. He became converted, and forthwith resolved to lead a new life. He renounced all worldly amusements and gave himself up to the quiet introspective life of a follower of Christ. He studied the Word of God assiduously, and read the devotional literature of the Lutheran Church, especially the works of Luther, Arndt, and Nohrborg. On his frequent visits to Stockholm he bought books and visited the public libraries, so that, for a peasant, he became an unusually well-read man. It was in Stockholm that he made the acquaintance of C. O. Rosenius, the

celebrated Swedish representative of Hallean pietism, and became a constant reader of the church paper edited by him. It was here, too, that he met George Scott, an English Methodist clergyman, who was established in the Swedish capital as chaplain to Samuel Owen, a wealthy English manufacturer. Scott was a man of ability and enthusiasm, and his influence was not limited to the employes of Samuel Owen. He preached in Stockholm from 1830 to 1842 with great success, and although he had had a predecessor in a certain Methodist clergyman by the name of Stewens, he may properly be considered as the founder of the Methodist Church in Sweden. In him Jonas Olson found a warm and sympathetic friend, with whom he had many extended conversations upon religious subjects. Jonas Olson, indeed, never openly embraced Methodism, but was greatly influenced by its teachings, and even accepted its cardinal doctrine of sanctification.

It was, however, especially in the matter of temperance reform that the two friends met on common ground. Under Scott's direction Jonas Olson began to organize temperance societies in his own and neighboring parishes. At first he met with considerable opposition. The clergy objected that Jesus at Canaan had not disdained to encourage the social practice of putting the wedding guests under the table. Jonas Olson's own pastor accused him of heinous designs upon his distillery. But the Crown soon lent its support to the movement, and then the clergy were everywhere among the first to sign the pledge.

But it was not only as an organizer of temperance societies that Jonas Olson found expression for his change of attitude towards religion. Immediately upon his conversion in 1825 he had begun to preach in the conventicles of the Devotionalists, who were just then beginning to appear in Söderala Parish, in the province of Helsingland. In 1826 he married his first wife. The marriage proved a happy one, although but of short duration. The death of his wife, after only a

year and a half of married life, caused him to throw himself with additional zeal into church work, and it was due to him that Devotionalism was carried to every quarter of the province of Helsingland.

The Devotionalists were pietists, using the word in the broader sense in which it is employed by Heppe and Ritschl. They did not form a separate sect. They were merely individuals who were dissatisfied with the absence of vital piety in the Established Church, and who wished to introduce a living Christianity by private preaching and by the superior piety of their lives. They were called Devotionalists, or Readers (*Läsare*), because they assembled in private houses to hold devotional meetings, and because they read their Bibles and books of devotion assiduously in their homes.

C. A. Cornelius says in his history of the Swedish Church, "If we consider European Christianity in its entirety, church work in the nineteenth century . . . has been characterized by an endeavor to repair the injury wrought by the century of the Illumination, and, if possible, to restore the old order of things."[1] It was this reactionary tendency which, in the Swedish Church, was represented by Devotionalism.

Devotionalism had this in common with other pietistic movements in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, that it sought to purify the Church from within; that it supplemented the regular church service by conventicle worship; that it paid less attention to objective purity of doctrine than subjective piety; that, in its zeal for the simplicity and vital Christianity of the Apostolic Church, it condemned many forms of amusement and recreation in themselves entirely innocent.

The clergy in the Swedish Church not being so thoroughly and generally rationalized as in other Protestant countries, the conditions were not present for a popular religious oppo-

[1] C. A. Cornelius. Svenska Kyrkans Historia. Upsala, 1875, 2d ed., pp. 251–2.

sition movement of national dimensions, and thus we find that Swedish pietism did not produce any great national leader after whom it might be named. It began to spread under local leaders in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Its stronghold was Norrland, one of the great political divisions of Sweden, of which Helsingland is a subdivision.

Economically, the province of Helsingland is well situated. It possesses rich iron mines, which yield a large annual produce. It also possesses linen and other manufactures. But the principal part of the population consists of independent peasants, who own their land in fee-simple. Helsingland is not cursed with the system of large landed estates which obtains farther south in Sweden, and consequently there are no *Törpare*, or cottagers, who eke out a precarious existence on small patches of land held in return for labor services rendered to the lord. The principal city is Gefle, built on a small inlet of the Gulf of Bothnia. It has a good harbor and is one of the best built towns in Sweden. Its population exceeds twenty thousand. The commerce is considerable. The exports consist of iron, timber, flax and linens. The imports are principally corn and salt. The population of Helsingland being chiefly agricultural, there are no important towns outside of Gefle. The peasants are frugal, thrifty and industrious. Their farms are small, but well kept and well cultivated, the staple produce being flax, rye and potatoes. The peasants place great pride in their neat red-painted farmhouses surrounded by patches of flowers and garden-truck. The roads are fine, and distances to market convenient.

In spite of material prosperity, however, the state of education and morals in the early part of the present century was low. Drunkenness was a common vice. Many could not read, and few indeed were those who could write. Yet in this they were no better nor no worse than the peasantry of other European countries at the time, for the day of modern public schools had not yet arrived. But with the advent of Devotionalism and temperance reform a radical

change took place. The people began to read and turned to habits of industry and sobriety.

It was the best part of the population which joined the Devotionalists, namely, the peasants and independent artisans. Some of the clergy, too, became interested and took part in the conventicles. But Jonas Olson continued to be the leader and the principal lay-member. He enjoyed the respect and the confidence of the entire community, representing it in a public capacity as juror to the district court. For seventeen years Jonas Olson and the Devotionalists of Helsingland assembled in conventicles and read their Bibles and books of devotion unmolested, enjoying their full privileges as members of the Established Church, when a new actor appeared upon the scene. This actor was Eric Janson.

II.—The Rise of Jansonism.

Eric Janson[1] was born December 19, 1808, in Biskopskulla Parish, Uppland, and was the second son in a family of four sons and one daughter. His father, Johannes Mattson, was a poor man, who by thrift and industry succeeded in laying by enough means to become the owner of a small landed estate in Österunda Parish, Westmanland, where Eric spent the formative period of his youth. Eric Janson was a born religious leader. He was not a profound speculator, but was endowed with a rare gift of eloquence and an extraordinary power to control the actions of large bodies of men. Little is known of his youth, except that his education was meagre, consisting merely of the religious instruction required in a catechumen of the Established Church. While yet a mere boy he experienced the call of religion, but soon suffered a relapse, and there was nothing in his mode of life to distinguish him from the pleasure-loving youth of the social class to which he belonged.

[1] This surname is a modified form of Johannes, the baptismal name of Eric's father.

At the age of twenty-six he experienced a miraculous cure from an aggravated form of rheumatism. He had for some time been suffering intense pains, but, being a man of restless, active disposition, he could not be persuaded to treat himself as an invalid. One day, as he was plowing in the fields, an unusually severe attack came upon him, in which he fainted away. On regaining consciousness, he heard a voice saying: "It is writ that whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive; all things are possible to him that believeth. 'If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it,' saith the Lord." Eric Janson recognized in the voice a message from God, and, falling upon his knees, prayed long and fervently that his lack of faith might be forgiven him and that his health might be restored. On arising, his pains had disappeared, never to return.

From this time on his whole being was turned into religious channels. He was seized with an insatiable thirst after spiritual knowledge. He read all the books of a devotional character that were to be had, but, not finding in them the peace that he longed for, turned himself towards the Bible as the sole source of spiritual comfort. His own personal experience had taught him the efficacy of faith in prayer. To want of faith, then, he ascribed all the misery and suffering which he saw about him on every hand. This want of faith he attributed to the Established Church, which was concerned more with outward churchly ceremonies than with vital piety. From the subject of faith the transition of thought to the subject of sanctification was easy and natural. After prolonged study he came to the conclusion that the Lutheran doctrine of sanctification was wrong, holding that the faithful have no sin. He seems not, however, to have advocated these views in public before 1840, for, although acting as a lay-preacher among the Devotionalists of Österunda Parish, no suspicion attached to his orthodoxy previous to that year. But in 1840 he began to preach earnestly against the assumed abuse of the devotional literature, insisting that it distracted

attention from the Bible, which was the only true source of spiritual knowledge. It was not until several years later that he began to oppose in public the Lutheran doctrine of sanctification.

Up to the age of twenty-seven he remained with his parents, when, contrary to their will, he married a girl below his station. As a consequence he was thrown almost penniless upon his own resources. He rented a farm and undertook several small business ventures, in all of which he was successful, so that he was ultimately enabled to purchase the estate of Lötorp for 1000 rix-dollars, cash.

In 1842, having heard of the Devotionalists in Helsingland, he visited that province as a dealer in flour, in which capacity he traveled extensively in his own and neighboring parishes. In 1843, at the age of thirty-four, he made his second visit to Helsingland. In January of this year, while passing through Söderala Parish, he formed an acquaintance which proved to be of inestimable importance in the shaping of future events. Discovering by mere chance that Jonas Olson was a Devotionalist, he applied to him for lodging over night, and his request was hospitably granted. It was a Saturday night. The stranger appeared reserved, and had nothing to say on religious subjects. The following morning Olson's married sister came over to buy some flour. But the stranger answered, "Do you not know that to-day is the Sabbath? We will postpone business till to-morrow." The stranger accompanied the family to church. On the way home, contrary to the custom, he said not a word about the sermon. In the afternoon his host took him to a conventicle of the Devotionalists, where he was invited to speak. But he remained silent. On taking leave the following morning he said to his host, "I have had a restless night. The Lord hath imposed a duty upon me. I have struggled in prayer to avoid it, but cannot. Be a priest in your own house. I have been here a Saturday night and a Sunday night, and you have not assembled your household in prayer."

If Jonas Olson had been previously impressed by his guest's conduct, he was not any the less so now. The rebuke was accepted in humility, and from that time on Jonas Olson recognized in the stranger a man of God. He accompanied him to Hudiksval and Gefle, and everywhere introduced him to the conventicles of the Devotionalists. On account of the personal standing of his introducer, Eric Janson everywhere met with a favorable reception. Everywhere he was invited to speak, and he now no longer refused. The appreciativeness of his audiences spurred him on to his most eloquent efforts, and the evident results of his preaching convinced him that his mission as a revivalist lay in Helsingland.

In June of the same year he made his third visit to Helsingland. He was now in such demand that, like his great Master, he was obliged to travel by night and preach by day. His sermons frequently lasted from five to six hours. Many of the clergy visited his meetings, but as yet no objections were raised to his preaching. His fourth journey to Helsingland was made in the following autumn. He now decided to sell his estate in Westmanland and move to Helsingland. In the meantime, however, his father died, and he moved instead into the home thus left vacant. Here he remained till April, 1844, when he accomplished his original purpose and removed to Forsa in the north of Helsingland.

With the advent of Eric Janson to Helsingland in 1842 we may, roughly speaking, say that Jansonism begins. Eric Janson never had any large following in his own province of Westmanland, nor even in his own parish. Although, indeed, he made numerous converts outside of Helsingland, this province nevertheless remained the Jansonist stronghold. The reason is to be sought in the fact that the conditions in Helsingland were particularly favorable for the reception of his doctrine. To the Devotionalists of Helsingland there was nothing positively new in his teaching. The two points in which he disagreed with the Established Church were, firstly, with regard to the doctrine of sanctification; secondly,

with regard to the devotional literature. In the doctrine of sanctification he agreed with the Methodists, holding that the faithful have no sin. But, as we have seen, Jonas Olson had accepted this doctrine from George Scott, the English Methodist clergyman stationed in Stockholm. It is impossible to ascertain whether or not Eric Janson himself ever came under the personal influence of George Scott. Some of his followers assert that he did; others assert with equal positiveness that he did not. But be that as it may, in matters of faith he had much in common with John Wesley, and his style of preaching and method of delivery is said to have resembled very much that of the early Methodists. Nor was his rejection of the devotional literature new in Helsingland. In 1805, Eric Stålberg, of the parish of Piteå, had founded a sect of Separatists, which spread rapidly over the greater part of Norrland, including the province of Helsingland. One characteristic of this sect was that, with the exception of Luther's writings, it discouraged the use of devotional literature, saying that, at the best, human writings are full of error and only tend to distract the attention from the Word of God. Although Jonas Olson and the majority of the orthodox Devotionalists in Helsingland cannot be said to have shared this view previous to the advent of Eric Janson, they were nevertheless familiar with it.

Jansonism did not spring ready-made from the brain of its author. It was a gradual development, and the form which it ultimately assumed was largely determined by the attitude of the Established Church. Eric Janson did not at first display any separatistic tendencies. He merely preached against the rationalism and dead orthodoxy which were prevalent in the Swedish Church. He advocated a return to the simplicity and earnestness of primitive Christianity. He warned his followers to read the Word of God, and did not hesitate to punish in public the sins of prominent individuals. His preaching was of a pre-eminently nomistic character, and many even of those who thought they had found peace

in God saw the vanity of their lives. He traveled from parish to parish conducting revival meetings. The number of his adherents was soon estimated at from 1500 to 4000. The clergy became alarmed at the rapid growth of a strong religious sentiment over which they had no control and the import of which they did not understand. They regarded the Jansonists as a new sect holding doctrines that were subversive of the existing church organization. In order to regain their lost hold upon their congregations they denounced Janson from the pulpit, and appeared in the conventicles to warn their parishioners against the impostor and false prophet. They attempted to refute his heresies with regard to the devotional literature and the doctrine of sanctification. But Janson was gifted with a matchless power of debate, besides being well versed in the Scriptures, and whenever it came to a battle of words was almost certain to come off victorious. The Jansonists were refused admittance to the Lord's Supper. Eric Janson retaliated by saying that there could be no faith without persecution; that there was no saving power in the sermon of an unconverted minister; and forbade his followers to worship in the Established Church, holding his conventicles at the time of the regular church service. This was the beginning of his estrangement from the Established Church.

As the influence of Janson increased, so also the number and hostility of his enemies. His followers were subjected to the abuse and insult of the rabble. Their meetings were disturbed, their houses pelted with stones, and their persons assaulted. But they praised the Lord who tried their faith by allowing them to be persecuted. They marched along the public highways at night and sang spiritual hymns, or gathered in front of the parsonages to pray for the conversion of their unregenerate pastors. When their conventicles were prohibited they assembled in the woods and in out of the way places to partake of the Holy Communion. Faint rumors of these midnight gatherings came to the church authorities, and

the spectre of a new peasant insurrection stalked abroad. Eric Janson was regarded as a second Thomas Münzer. He was charged with all sorts of atrocious crimes. A large number of his followers were women. Women frequently accompanied him on his missionary journeys. With one of these, by the name of Sophia Schön, he was particularly accused of sustaining improper relations. One night she was surprised in her home by the pastor of Österunda Parish, who had come with a number of his henchmen to find Eric Janson. Eric Janson was, of course, not to be found; but Sophia Schön was dragged from her bed and brought, dressed only in her linen, to the sheriff's bailiff.

In June, 1844, an event took place which gave the opponents of the new heresy an opportunity of adopting severe legal measures. Already since 1840 Eric Janson had witnessed against the assumed abuse of the devotional literature. The human writings of Luther, Arndt, Scriver, Nohrborg had usurped the place of the Bible. These new idols had stolen away the hearts of the people. They must be destroyed.

The burning of the books took place June 11. A great concourse of people from the country around assembled on a farm near the town of Tranberg. An immense bonfire was made of books, pamphlets, tracts—everything except the Bible, the hymn-book and catechism. Amidst the singing of hymns and great spiritual exaltation the assemblage watched the destruction of the "Harlot of Babylon."

The embers of the fire had hardly died out before the news was spread in every quarter of Sweden. People were horrified. Two days later, Janson was arrested by the Crown officials and brought before the sheriff's court in Gefle. After a preliminary trial he was transferred to the sheriff's court in Westerås, under whose jurisdiction he properly belonged. Here his mental condition was examined into by a medical expert, while a court chaplain examined into his spiritual. He was finally released to await a new trial, but was not allowed to return to Helsingland.

In the meantime, delegations of his adherents had visited the king, and had been promised a hearing of their grievances before the proper authorities. Upon his release Janson himself sought admission to the king, and was so graciously received that he wrote back to his friends, "I have triumphed at court." In September, 1844, he was summoned to appear before court in Westerås. In his defense he stated that the Church had abused its trust; that it had fallen from the true faith; that its servants were mere worldlings; that he was sent by God to restore the faith and show sinners the way of salvation. He was released and allowed a pass to his home in Forsa, in Helsingland.

In the meantime, the ardor of his adherents in Helsingland had not abated. Jansonism was being preached in every quarter. The reappearance of the leader gave a new impetus to the movement. His enemies had not been able to do him any injury. The king and the highest secular authorities in the realm were his sympathizers. It was only the hierarchy of the Established Church that sought his destruction. But full amnesty might soon be expected, the abominable machinations of the Church would be thwarted, the dawn of religious freedom was not far distant. So thought his simple-minded followers. His journey through Helsingland was one continued ovation. Everywhere the people flocked to the conventicles. Those who were left in doubt by his preaching were converted by the magnetic touch of his hand. In some parishes the churches remained almost empty.

October 28, 1844, the second crusade against religious books took place—this time is Söderala Parish—and now not even the hymn-book and the catechism were spared. Janson was immediately arrested. But there was reason to be cautious. He was again released to await a new trial. Hardly had he been released before he was rearrested and condemned to a short imprisonment for holding revival meetings. December 18 he was summoned before the House of Bishops in Upsala. His case was not decided.

It would be neither profitable nor interesting to rehearse the legal chicanery and petty persecution with which his life was embittered, and by which he was egged on, as it were, to abandon all Lutheran traditions and assume a position of open hostility to the Established Church. Through the zeal of the inferior clergy he was arrested six times, being three times released by royal orders; twice he was admitted to the king; he was transferred from one court to another; but, it is claimed, never received a thorough and impartial investigation.

His followers were subjected to the same sort of treatment. The ancient and obsolete law against conventicles, adopted in 1726 against Hallean pietists and other heretics, was revived in all its severity. Jonas Olson and his younger brother, Olof Olson, were made to pay heavy fines for participating in the destruction of the religious books and for holding conventicles. They also were summoned before the House of Bishops in Upsala to answer for their religious opinions.

Finally, a price was put upon Eric Janson's head. He was hunted from place to place, leading a life as adventurous as even that of the sweet singer of Brandenburg in the seventeenth century. On being captured, his friends feared that he would never be released, and conspired to effect his escape. Some of them, under color of violence, took him away from the Crown official, as he was being conveyed from Gefle to Westerås, and brought him over the mountains into Norway. From there he went to Copenhagen, where, in the company of a few friends, he embarked for New York. In July, 1846, he arrived in Victoria, Knox County, Illinois, whither he had been preceded by Olof Olson.

III.—Emigration of the Jansonists and the Founding of the Bishop Hill Colony.

While hiding in the mountain fastnesses of Söderala and Alfta, Eric Janson had planned the emigration of his followers

from Sweden, and the founding in America of a socialistic theocratic community, for he had by this time abandoned all hopes of obtaining in Sweden religious liberty, either for himself or for his followers. Impelled from one point to another by the spirit of opposition, he had now developed an independent system of theology, directly antagonistic to the authority of the Established Church. Without incurring the displeasure of the Church, he had begun his reformatory activity by opposing the use of the devotional literature. Then he had opposed the Lutheran doctrine of sanctification. For this, himself and his adherents had been excluded from participation in the Lord's Supper, whereupon he had dealt out the Lord's Supper with his own hands. Meeting with legal prosecution at the hands of the inferior clergy, he had rejected the authority of the Established Church altogether, and proclaimed himself as the representative of Christ, sent to restore the true Christian Church, which had disappeared from the face of the earth with the introduction of established state churches.

The central idea of Jansonism in this final stage of its development may be summed up as follows: When persecution ceased under Constantine the Great and Christianity became the state religion, Christianity became extinct. Eric Janson was sent to restore Christianity. He represented the second coming of Christ. Christ revealed himself through him, and should continue to do the same through the seed of his body. The second advent of Christ was to be more glorious than the first. "As the splendor of the second temple at Jerusalem far exceeded that of the first, erected by the son of David, so also the glory of the work which is to be accomplished by Eric Janson, standing in Christ's stead, shall far exceed that of the work accomplished by Jesus and his Apostles."[1] Eric Janson was to separate the children of God from the world and gather them into a theocratic community. In America he was to build up the New Jerusalem,

[1] Cateches. Af Eric Janson. Söderhamn, 1846, p. 80.

from whence the Gospel should go forth to all the world. The New Jerusalem should quickly extend its boundaries until it embraced all the nations of the earth. Then should the millennium be ushered in, in which Eric Janson, or the heirs of his body, should, as the representatives of Christ, reign to the end of all time.

In 1845 he had sent Olof Olson to America to examine the country and fix upon a suitable location for the community. This was before the modern Swedish emigration to the New World. America was a name almost unknown to the peasants of Helsingland. But in 1843 an adventurous Swede from the parish of Alfta had wandered as far west as Chicago. He had written home glowing accounts of the country. His letters had been circulated among friends and acquaintances, and their contents had inspired the persecuted Jansonists with a new hope. In America there was no established church; there were no inquisitorial and tyrannous priests, no supercilious aristocracy; there was a home for every one, and, above all, religious and political liberty. The Jansonists possessed a strong love of home and country, but the exile which they had formerly feared under the conventicle laws no longer appeared so terrible.

In New York, Olof Olson made the acquaintance of the Rev. Mr. Hedström, who is known as the founder of the Swedish Methodist Church in America. Hedström was stationed as a missionary among the Scandinavian seamen in New York. He held his services in a dismantled vessel, a part of which was fitted up for the reception of Olof Olson's family, consisting of his wife and two children, who remained there during the winter of 1845–6. Under the influence of Hedström, Olof Olson joined the Methodist communion, and presently proceeded on his way to Victoria, Knox County, Illinois, where he was hospitably received by Hedström's brother. After a prospecting tour of Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota, Olof Olson wrote back to Sweden confirming previous favorable reports of the country, and

recommending Illinois as the future place of settlement. In July of 1846 he was joined by Eric Janson, and together they fixed upon a point in Henry County as the location of the settlement. Olof Olson, however, never joined the community, but purchased a farm near Victoria, where he died shortly after the arrival of the main body of the Jansonists.

Before leaving Sweden, Eric Janson had appointed certain trustworthy men to conduct the emigration. Chief among these were Jonas Olson, Olof Johnson, Andreas Berglund, and Olof Stenberg, all of whom were to play an important part in the later history of the Jansonists.

While the orthodox Devotionalists in Helsingland consisted chiefly of independent farmers and artisans, the Jansonists included in their number a large proportion of miners and factory hands, and poor people of every description, for Jansonism was, in the true sense of the word, a popular religious movement. Many of the Jansonists were therefore persons who were unable to defray the expenses of a long journey. It was this fact which prompted Eric Janson to make community of goods a part of the social economy of the New Jerusalem. He based his reasons for the adoption of communism entirely on scriptural grounds. Neither he nor his followers knew any other form of communism than that based on religion. The Jansonists were unacquainted with the philosophical systems of the great social reformers of France. The politico-economic questions that were agitating the proletariat in the great world without had left them undisturbed. They were illiterate people. Their reading was limited to one book, but in that book they found that the first Christian church had taken care of its poor and that material goods had been held in common. So the wealthy sold their property, real as well as personal, and the proceeds went to the common coffers to be added to the widow's mite. The sums which were thus contributed ranged from 24,000 crowns downward, and were paid over to the men in charge of the emigration.

When the time for the emigration arrived it was found that 1100 Jansonists were willing to abandon their homes for the sake of religion. It was impossible to secure passage at one and the same time for so many people, for the Swedish vessels which touched at American ports were limited in number and were merely freight vessels without accommodations for passengers. So the emigrants were dispatched in parties as opportunity offered. The vessels were small, rooming only from fifty to one hundred and fifty passengers apiece. Many of them were unseaworthy, and not unfrequently they were overloaded. One was lost at sea, another was shipwrecked off the coast of Newfoundland, and still another occupied five months in the voyage.

The emigrants gathered in Göteborg, Söderhamn and Stockholm, but by far the greatest number sailed from Gefle. The first vessel to set sail from Gefle left in the summer of 1846. For weeks previous to the departure of the vessel vehicles of every description came trundling into the seaboard town of Gefle. From a distance of over a hundred miles pedestrians came in travel-stained and foot-sore. A feverish excitement reigned. No one wanted to be left behind, for the Jansonists believed that when they should stand out to sea Sweden would be destroyed for the iniquity of the Established Church. It was a sad parting. Families were torn asunder, children left their parents, husbands left their wives, the mother left her infant in the cradle. It was the flower of the youth that went, principally young men and women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five. Their friends never expected to hear of them again. It was feared that they would be taken by pirates, or that the captains of their vessels would sell them into slavery, or bring them to the terrible "island" of Siberia where the Czar of Russia sends all his desperate criminals. In American waters, too, there were frightful sea-monsters, more ferocious and destructive than even the Midgard serpent. And if America was the home of freedom and a country of fabulous wealth, it was

also the resort of cut-throats and assassins and full of tropical abnormities.

Everything was ready for the departure when, at the very last moment, the passports were withheld by the authorities. However, a delegation of the Jansonists, headed by Jonas Olson, waited upon King Oscar I., who gave them an order for the necessary papers.

The first shipload of passengers was met in New York by Eric Janson, who had proceeded from Victoria to meet them. From Troy the emigrants went by canal to Buffalo, thence by way of the Great Lakes to Chicago. In Chicago they purchased horses and wagons for the conveyance of the invalids and the baggage. The able-bodied walked on foot one hundred miles across the unbroken prairie to Victoria, where the party arrived in July, 1846. A few days later the Jansonists removed to Red Oak Grove, about three miles west of the present Bishop Hill, where for two hundred and fifty dollars their leader had purchased an improved eighty-acre farm in section nine of Weller Township. August 2 one hundred and sixty acres of land in section eight of the same township were purchased for $1100. This was a very desirable piece of property, containing not only cultivated fields, but also a log-cabin and outhouses.

It now remained to choose a suitable town-site. The southeast quarter of section fourteen, township fourteen, was finally decided upon, and purchased of the United States government, September 26, for $200. It was a beautiful spot, sparsely covered with a small growth of oak trees, and located on the south bank of the South Edward Creek. On the same day two additional quarters were purchased in sections twenty-three and twenty-four of the same township for $400.

Anticipating the arrival of the second party of immigrants, two log-houses and four large tents were erected, all of which were in readiness when Jonas Olson arrived with his party on the 28th of October. Simultaneously with the setting in

of cold weather, when the tents had to be vacated, a new party arrived. Several log cabins were hastily put together, and a large sod house erected, which latter served as a common kitchen and dining-hall. Twelve "dug-outs," about twenty-five or thirty feet long and eighteen feet wide, were also built. In these dug-outs two tiers of beds were placed along each wall, and each bed held two or more occupants. In one dug-out there were three tiers of beds and three occupants in each bed, fifty-two unmarried women performing their toilets there morning and evening. The mud caves were damp and unwholesome, and the mortality was frightful. Nearly every morning a fresh corpse would be pulled out from the reeking death-traps. Before the snow fell a fourth party of immigrants had arrived, and four hundred persons wintered in the settlement, of whom seventy were stationed at Red Oak Grove.

One of the first concerns of the Jansonists was to provide a place of worship. Already before the arrival of the second party a large tabernacle had been erected. It was built in the form of a cross and was able to room about a thousand persons. The material consisted of logs and canvas, and the whole structure was intended merely as a temporary makeshift. Divine worship was held here twice a day on week days and three times on Sundays. Eric Janson himself went the rounds of the camp at five o'clock in the morning to call the people to devotion. Half an hour later the services began, and frequently lasted for two hours. The second devotional meeting was held in the evening. When spring arrived, however, and the work in the fields began, the morning and evening devotions were substituted by a short meeting during the noon recess, and in favorable weather this was frequently conducted in the open air.

The Jansonists were illiterate people, but they held progressive views with regard to elementary education. Already the first winter, at such times when the weather prevented out-door work, a school for adults was carried on

in the tabernacle by Mrs. Hebbe and, later, Mr. Hellström, who both instructed in the advanced arts of writing and ciphering. A similar school for adults was established at Red Oak. As early as January, 1847, an English school was opened. A Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Talbot, taught some thirty-five children in a mud-cave from January to July. At times he was assisted by his two daughters and by Mrs. Pollock, who was a member of the community. Mr. Talbot was succeeded by Nelson Simons, M. D.

Measures were also taken for the propaganda of faith. Eric Janson appointed twelve young men to be the apostles of Jansonism in the New World. Great expectations were centered in these twelve young men. After a few months' instruction in the English language, they were sent out upon their mission to convert the United States and the world. They met with but moderate success, however, for the Yankee was too busy inventing bad clocks and peddling cheap tinware to listen to what the missionaries had to say.

The community experienced great difficulty in securing sufficient food. After the expenses of the journey and the purchase of so much land, the funds of the society were well nigh exhausted, and credit they had none. The grain had to be hauled twenty-eight miles to the nearest mill to be ground. But the mill was constantly under repairs and could not be relied upon. After attempting to supply their wants by means of hand-mills, the society erected a small grist-mill on the Edwards Creek, which, when the water failed, was run by horse-power.

In the spring of 1847 the community began to manufacture adobe. Several houses were built of this material, some of which remained standing until 1862. The ravine which intersected the town-site contained chalkstone in abundance, and the preparation of it into cement was taught the Jansonists by Philip Mauk. The first frame building was also erected in 1847, the lumber being hauled from Red Oak

Grove, where a sawmill, run by horse-power, had been put up by the society. As the needs of the society increased, this mill was later on bartered away for a larger one run by water-power. May 4, 1848, the society purchased of Cramer and Wilsie forty acres of land for $1500. This land was excellent timber land, and contained a sawmill more than large enough to supply all the wants of the society.

While the Jansonists had been employed in these building operations they had not neglected agriculture. The land at Red Oak Grove had been put under cultivation, and pieces of land had been rented here and there, for which they were obliged to pay one-third of the gross produce. During the first year the Jansonists broke three hundred and fifty acres of land and laid three and a half miles of sod fence. In the autumn of the year their threshing was done by Mr. Broderick, whose machine they purchased, only to make it serve as a model for a larger and more improved machine of their own make.

November 18, one hundred acres of land in section seventeen, Weller Township, were purchased of W. H. Griffins for three hundred and eighty dollars.

June 4, 1847, the fifth party of Jansonists arrived. The party contained, besides children, four hundred adults. This accretion to the community required the purchase of more land. Before the close of the year the following purchases had been made: eighty acres in section seventeen, two hundred and forty acres in section sixteen, thirty-nine acres belonging to Mr. Broderick, besides other property.

In January of the following year an old-fashioned wind grist-mill was erected, the mill on the Edwards Creek proving inadequate to meet the increasing demands made upon it.

With the arrival of the new party a great scarcity of dwelling room arose. Five new mud-caves were excavated for the people, while similar provisions were made for the horses and cattle. Nevertheless the Jansonists suffered intensely. The winter was a severe one. The dug-outs were

damp and unwholesome and fearfully crowded. The ravine into which they faced was alternately swept by fierce wind storms or choked up with snow. There was lack of provisions, and the Jansonists suffered from hunger as well as from cold. The change of climate also produced suffering. Fevers, chills and diarrhœa were common, and many succumbed. The hardships were more than many members of the community had the resolution to bear, and they left singly and in squads as their lack of faith and pressing wants seemed to require. The seeds of internal discord, too, were sown, for religious differences arose which resulted in the withdrawal of about two hundred members in the autumn of 1848. The majority, however, remained steadfast. Their courage was cheered by the matchless eloquence of their leader, and their unshakable faith in him helped them to surmount all difficulties.

In the summer of 1848 the Jansonists began to manufacture kiln-dried brick, the kilns being located about one mile west of the settlement. A four-story brick house one hundred by forty-five feet was erected, which, in 1851, was extended one hundred feet. The basement was arranged into a common dining-hall and kitchen, whereas the upper stories were divided into dwelling apartments. At the same time, several frame tenement houses and some additional houses of adobe were erected. In this year also the Old Colony Church, a large frame edifice, the upper part of which was designed to serve as a church, while the basement was arranged into tenements, was begun and completed in the following year, the tabernacle having been previously destroyed by fire.

With improved dwellings came improved health. Even those who had to remain in the mud-caves were better off, because they were no longer so crowded, and they found, in the summer-time at least, plenty of exercise in the open air. For there were no drones in this hive. The incentive to work, which one should suppose had been removed with the

removal of individual property, was supplied by religion. They were no longer working for their own advancement, but for the glory of God. Had He not led them, as He had led the people of Israel, to a new Canaan? They were His chosen people. In them His wonderful designs for the regeneration of the world were to be fulfilled. Their city was the refuge of the faithful; it was the New Jerusalem. So they reclaimed the prairie and subdued the forest to further the kingdom of God. Their labor was not in vain. The earth gave forth bountifully of its harvests and prosperity attended upon them.

Their methods of agriculture were laborious, but as their means improved, and as they learned the ways of the country of their adoption, they became as expert as any in the use of improved machinery. In the autumn of 1847 they harvested their grain in the Swedish fashion with the scythe. In 1848 they introduced cradles, and, in 1849, reapers. In order to secure the harvest of 1848 thirty cradle-scythes were kept going day and night, until it was discovered that the night work endangered the health, when eighteen hours were made to constitute a day's work. The young men wielded the cradles—and wonderful feats were performed with the cradle in those days—while the middle-aged men and the women bound the sheaves; boys and girls gathered the sheaves together, while the old men placed them in shocks. In the evening, when the day's work was done and the harvesters were retiring from the field, an interesting spectacle presented itself to the observer. Two by two, in a long procession a couple of hundred strong, the harvesters wended their homeward way, first the men carrying their cradle-scythes over their shoulders, then the women with their hand-rakes, and, finally, the children, all singing some merry harvest-song of their native country, while keeping step to the music. On arriving at the village they repaired to the common dining hall, where a bounteous repast awaited them on long wooden tables, some of which were set aside for the men, others for the women, and still others for the children.

Another important industry of the community was the cultivation of flax. This was the staple industry in the province of Helsingland, and the Jansonists were thoroughly familiar with every branch of it. Already the first year they put part of their fields under cultivation for flax. They also helped the neighboring farmers, who cultivated the plant merely for the sake of the seed, to harvest their crops, and received the straw in payment for their work. From the crop of 1847 they manufactured 12,473 yards of linen and carpet matting, for all of which they found a ready sale. The volume of manufacture continued to increase till 1851, when it reached 30,579 yards of linen and carpeting. After this it decreased till 1857, when it ceased altogether, except for home consumption, the new railroad enabling the eastern manufacturers to flood the market with their wares and drive out competition. The aggregate amount of linen sold to 1857 was 130,309 yards and of carpeting 22,569 yards. To this must be added the no inconsiderable quantities consumed at home in order to arrive at the total amount of manufacture. The spinning and weaving were done exclusively by women, children of both sexes assisting at spooling and other light work. In the early years when looms were scarce the weavers were divided into squads and the looms kept running night and day.

The sixth party of immigrants arrived in 1849, and consisted of Swedish and Norwegian converts under the leadership of the Jansonist missionary Nylund. Between La Salle and Chicago the party was attacked by the Asiatic cholera. Arrived in Chicago in a pitiable condition, the party was met by a member of the community, who conducted it to Bishop Hill. Thus the dread disease was transplanted to the society, and, breaking out on the 22d day of July, raged without intermission till the middle of September. It carried away one hundred and forty-three persons in the prime of life. The excessive mortality was due partly to improper treatment, the fever-parched patients being, according to the

old medical superstition, not allowed to touch water. Some of the Jansonists removed to the neighborhood of La Grange, where the community possessed some real property, but, finding themselves still pursued by the fell destroyer, fled in vain to an island in the Mississippi, where Eric Janson's wife and one child were among the victims.

In 1850 another party arrived under the leadership of Olof Stenberg, who was returning from a business visit to Sweden. Stenberg's party was attacked by the Asiatic cholera between Buffalo and Milwaukee. The party consisted of one hundred and sixty persons. On account of stress of weather and a breakage in the machinery, the voyage by steamer occupied no less than two weeks. The provisions gave out and the passengers suffered famine as well as disease. Many were buried in the waters of Lake Michigan, and many died in the lazaretto at Milwaukee. The leader has been accused of criminal negligence with regard to the performance of certain duties, but on the evidence of surviving members of his party the charge is without foundation.

Later in the same year still another party arrived; it consisted of eighty persons. The tenth party consisted of seventy persons and arrived in 1854. Besides these larger accretions, converts joined the society singly and in groups, and continued to do so up to a late date.

It was now a little over three years since the village of Bishop Hill had sprung into existence. It took its being eleven years after the first white man's habitation had been erected in the country which came to be organized as Henry County, and nine years after that organization had taken place. Previous to it there existed, besides some others, the infant settlements of Andover, Genesceo, Wethersfield, and La Grange, the products of a strange mixture of New England philanthropy and speculation. But from the very day of its foundation, Bishop Hill assumed the chief place among the settlements in Henry County. From 1846 to 1850, in the purchase of land and the necessaries of life, it put between

$10,000 and $15,000 in gold into circulation, which was a matter of extreme importance at a time when business was principally conducted by barter, and when the only money in use was paper money valued at a few cents on the dollar. In 1850 its population had swelled to over one thousand, while the entire population of the county, an area of eight hundred and thirty square miles, was only three thousand, eight hundred and seven. If the labor value of an immigrant may be capitalized at ten hundred dollars, then the Jansonists had in their persons alone brought one million dollars into the country. Nearly every province in Sweden was represented in the community at Bishop Hill, and the Jansonists' letters home concerning the new country paved the way for that mighty tide of Swedish immigration which in a few years began to roll in upon Illinois and the Northwest, and which in 1882 culminated in a grand total for the year of 64,607 souls. For nine successive years, from 1878 to 1886, there arrived annually from the native land of the Jansonists more immigrants than from France or Italy or Austria or Russia, or any country save only Great Britain and Germany.

But while the Norns were weaving the fabric of history, the Jansonists were building their village and improving the resources of the wilderness. In 1850 they owned in fee simple or possessed an equitable interest in about fourteen hundred acres of land, which were partially under cultivation for wheat, flax and corn, and partly set aside for the pasturage of large herds of horses and cattle. The village of Bishop Hill, named after *Biskopskulla*, the birthplace of Eric Janson, consisted of several large brick houses, all of which, with the exception of one, were of adobe, a number of log and frame buildings, and seventeen dug-outs, together with storehouses, barns and outhouses of every description. It contained at least the nuclei of a store, a blacksmith shop, and all the other appurtenances of a modern Western city. At the head of the community—at the head of the

industrial army of one thousand busy workmen—was one supreme director. Eric Janson was the temporal as well as spiritual ruler. He appointed the superintendents of departments and the foremen of gangs. Nothing was undertaken without his sanction. He represented the community in business on the markets in Chicago and St. Louis. Property was bought and sold in his name or in the name of agents appointed by him. The society was, indeed, still struggling with poverty and debt, but the primary conditions of prosperity were nevertheless manifestly present.

IV.—The Adventurer John Root and the Murder of Eric Janson.

In the autumn of 1848 there arrived in Bishop Hill an adventurer by the name of John Root. He was the son of well-to-do parents in Stockholm, and a man of education, refinement of manners and pleasing address. For some unknown reason he had emigrated from Sweden. As a soldier in the United States army he had taken part in the Mexican campaign. After receiving his discharge at the close of the war he found his way to Bishop Hill. He was received with open arms by Eric Janson and the society, and was presently admitted as a member. He soon fell in love with a cousin of Eric Janson and applied to him for her hand in marriage. The request was granted, it being stipulated, however, that if Root should ever wish to leave the society, it was to be optional with his wife whether to accompany him or not. A written document to this effect was drawn up and duly signed by the contracting parties. It soon became apparent that the new member was not fitted for a religious communistic society. He was opposed to serious labor, and spent his time in the chase, with his gun on his shoulder and his bowie-knife in his belt. But tiring even of this employment, he sought new adventures as interpreter and guide to a Hebrew peddler. The Jew was never heard of

again; but a few years after the decomposed body of a murdered man was discovered under the floor of a deserted cabin some miles from Bishop Hill. After an absence of several months, during which time his wife gave birth to a child, John Root returned. Very soon he proposed to his wife that they leave the society, to which she strenuously objected. Eric Janson supported Mrs. Root in her determination to remain, which exasperated Root to such an extent that he threatened the lives of both Mrs. Root and Eric Janson. Perceiving that he could neither persuade nor frighten his wife into submission, he determined to carry her away by force. Obtaining the aid of a young man by the name of Stanley, he drove into Bishop Hill one day while the members of the community were at dinner, and, rushing into his wife's apartment, caught her up in his arms and carried her to the vehicle in waiting. The alarm was given, however, and the fugitives were hotly pursued. Two miles from the village they were overtaken by a dozen sturdy Jansonists on horseback and compelled to halt. The rescuers explained that if Mrs. Root wished to leave the community she was at liberty to do so; but if she desired to remain they proposed to take her back, by force, if need be. Meanwhile Root and Stanley, being both armed, kept the rescuing party at bay. But at this juncture Mrs. Root, who, together with her child, had been placed in the bottom of the wagon, made a desperate effort to release herself. In the struggle to prevent her from so doing, Root laid his revolver on the seat behind him, where it was immediately snatched by one of the rescuing party. Stanley promptly surrendered, and Mrs. Root was brought back to the village in triumph. Thwarted in his purpose of forcible abduction, Root had recourse to the law, and swore out a warrant for the arrest of Eric Janson and others, on the charge of restraining the liberty of his wife. Mrs. Root was subpœnaed as a witness. The officer who was charged with the execution of the summons insisted upon her accompanying him at once. He took her

to Cambridge, where she was illegally confined in a room and denied communication with her friends. Here Root got possession of his wife a second time, and spirited her away to the Rock River settlement. Thence he took her to Davenport, and finally to Chicago, where he had a sister living. The sister, disapproving of Root's conduct, communicated with the Jansonists at Bishop Hill, and Eric Janson sent a delegation to Chicago to offer Mrs. Root safe-conduct to the community. A place was designated where at a given time she might meet her friends. Knowing the desperate character of Root and anticipating a hot pursuit, men had been stationed with relays of horses at intervals along the road from Chicago to Bishop Hill, and the distance of one hundred and fifty miles was accomplished without a single stop.

When Root found that his wife had escaped, his rage knew no bounds. Baffled in his attempt to overtake her, he proceeded to the Rock River settlement, whence he returned to Bishop Hill, at the head of a mob. The mob terrorized the village for a few days, but finding neither Mrs. Root nor the principal agents in her abduction, presently dispersed. This was in the latter part of March, 1850. In the following week, on the evening of April 1, Root returned at the head of a second mob, angrier and more formidable than the first. A veteran of the Mexican war had been robbed of his wife, who was held in duress by a set of communists, for what vile purpose no one knew. It was only six years since the hateful Mormons had been expelled and their city and temple well-nigh razed to the ground; what was to hinder that this new Nauvoo should likewise be wiped off from the face of the earth? The rough, but justice-loving frontiersmen poured into the encampment at Buck Grove, half a mile from Bishop Hill, until the mob grew to the proportions of an army. The village was surrounded and communication with the outside world shut off. For three days the Regulators hesitated to begin the work of destruction. Janson was hid in an artificial cave out on the prairie, Olson was absent on

business in Andover—all the principal participants in the affair between Root and his wife had been spirited away. When the attempt was finally made to burn the village, the mob was met by an armed posse of the neighboring settlers, who had come to the relief of the community. The mob, seeing that it would have to encounter a desperate resistance, allowed itself to be persuaded of the innocent character of the society, and dispersed without having done any serious injury.

During these critical times the Jansonists bore themselves with fortitude, as befitted a religious people. Indeed, splendid displays of heroism were not wanting. Thus, Nils Hellbom committed an act of deliberate and premeditated bravery which might easily have cost him his life. The story of it is told as follows: "The mob had surreptitiously introduced a tall Indian into the woods. It is the Indian custom to remove the hair together with the scalp from an enemy's head, thus suffering him to die a lingering death in great pain. The Indian in question had been secretly instructed to destroy Jonas Olson in this manner, for Jonas Olson had been the chief agent in assisting Root's wife to escape. Nils Hellbom, who is a fearless boatswain, large and strong, weight two hundred and twenty-five pounds, hearing of this, dressed himself in a Swedish sheepskin greatcoat, having the woolly side out, so that only his rolling eyeballs were visible. Then going out to where the Indian was, edged up to him and said in Swedish, 'What do you want? Do you want my scalp, too?'" The Indian's ignorance of the Swedish language alone prevented the shedding of blood.

While the mob was raging at Bishop Hill, Eric Janson had succeeded in making good his escape to St. Louis, being accompanied by his wife, Mrs. John Root and others. In St. Louis he remained until all danger was past, when he returned to Bishop Hill. His trial was to come off at the May term of the Henry County Circuit Court in Cambridge. He seems to have had a presentiment that he should never

return from that trial. In the last sermon that he preached in Bishop Hill he told his followers that he should die a martyr to religion. It was the most powerful sermon that he had ever preached. Strong men wept and the community was full of evil foreboding. The last public act of his life was to distribute the Lord's Supper, and in so doing he repeated these words of the Holy Writ, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in my father's kingdom." On Monday morning, Mr. Maskel, an employe of the community, called at Janson's dwelling-place with a horse and buggy to take him to Cambridge. On coming down the steps Janson said, "Well, Mr. Maskel, will you stop the bullet for me to-day?"—which the latter cheerfully agreed to do. It was the 13th day of May, 1850. The court had adjourned for the noon recess. Janson was standing by a window in the court-room, while his counsel was sitting at a table engaged in writing. Suddenly John Root appeared in the doorway, calling Eric Janson by name. As Janson turned round, his eye met the gleam of a pistol-barrel, and a bullet struck him full in the heart; as he fell, a second bullet grazed his shoulder. It is impossible now to ascertain the further particulars of the murder. Root's friends maintain that he and Janson had been conversing through the open window, and that Janson had uttered some insulting remark which exasperated Root; while Janson's friends claim that the two men had not spoken to each other that day, but that Root came directly from a target practice in which he had been engaged the greater part of the forenoon.

When Eric Janson was brought home a corpse who can describe the consternation? The representative of Christ, sent to rebuild the city of God, dead! His work was but just begun! It was beyond human comprehension. But the ways of God are wonderful. Might he not recall his servant to life? Men and women wept, and waited for the resurrection which did not come. All work, except of a merely

perfunctory nature, ceased. The industrial army was demoralized, the leader was gone. Then it was that a woman stepped forward and called new life into the community.

Eric Janson's second wife was a remarkable woman. Left an orphan at an early age, she was adopted by a well-to-do family in Göteborg, who brought her with them to New York at the age of fifteen. Her first husband was a sailor, who went out to sea and never returned. Her second husband gave her an education, and she, in return, assisted him as teacher in a private school, of which he was the principal. As Mrs. Pollock, she became acquainted with Olaf Olson in 1845, through her pastor, the Rev. Mr. Hedström. When the main body of the Jansonists arrived in 1848 she met for the first time Eric Janson, who had come to receive them. She became converted, and followed the Jansonists to Bishop Hill, for Janson preached that there was no salvation outside the New Jerusalem. Her husband, who loved her as he did his life, went with her and tried to persuade her to return. But for the sake of her soul she dared not, and her husband died of a broken heart in Victoria. Mrs. Pollock lost her reason over her husband's death, but shortly recovered. Marrying again, she became Mrs. Gabrielson. Gabrielson died of the cholera, leaving one son, who grew to be a young man. During a large part of her stay in the community she had taught in the community's school, and her knowledge of English had frequently been of service to the Jansonists. She was still an exceedingly handsome woman, composed and dignified in speech and deportment. Having in the meantime become a widower, Eric Janson took her to wife. As Mrs. Janson she superintended the work of the women, and, moreover, acted as her husband's secretary. She had been married but a few months at the time of Janson's death, but nevertheless she knew more about the affairs of the community than any other person in it. So, the rightful heir to Janson's authority, namely, his son by his first wife, being but a mere boy, Mrs. Janson took the reins of government into her own hands.

But among the Jansonists women were not allowed to speak in public. Andreas Berglund was therefore appointed to be the nominal guardian of Eric Janson's son. In spiritual matters his authority was absolute, but in matters pertaining to business no important step was taken without the knowledge and consent of Mrs. Janson.

For three days Janson's body lay in state. On the day of the funeral the Old Colony Church was crowded to suffocation. Janson had gained many friends outside the community among those with whom he had had business relations. Strangers, too, there were who came to satisfy a wanton curiosity. The services were opened with song and prayer. Then Mrs. Janson stepped forward, and, in the presence of the congregation, placed her hand upon Berglund's bowed head, creating him guardian of the heir to the leadership of God's chosen people until such time when the boy should have reached the age of majority. After the funeral sermon, which was preached by Andreas Berglund, an oration in the English language, together with several other addresses, the body was escorted to the community's burying-ground. There was no muffled music, no display of shining uniforms, no pomp of funeral trappings. The body was laid to rest in a plain wooden coffin, and a plain wooden slab marked the grave of Eric Janson, the prophet, the representative of Christ.

The death of Eric Janson may be said to have occurred at an opportune moment. He was at the height of his power. In obedience to his word, eleven hundred people had abandoned their homes in a prosperous country, to found new ones in an American wilderness. They had given up their property, had braved unknown dangers and suffered untold hardships. His power over them was extraordinary. In the terrible days of the cholera, when any of their number were stricken with the dread disease, they sought his blessing, "Go, die in peace," and, contented, dragged themselves away to their fate. But his work was accomplished. It was his to call the community into existence in spite of seemingly in-

surmountable difficulties; but he did not possess the administrative ability to lead it along the quiet paths of industry to economic success. As it was, he died under heroic circumstances and while the memory of his achievements was still fresh in the minds of friends and foes alike.

In person Eric Janson was tall and angular, while his face was disfigured by a deep scar across the forehead and by the abnormal prominence of his upper incisor teeth. But these defects were lost sight of in the charm of his private conversation and in the eloquence of his public address. He was a man of large social affections and, where religion did not interfere with the dictates of nature, of quick and ready sympathies. He was a man of splendid parts, and had his mind been less untrained he might possibly have become the pride and admiration of his native country, instead of ending his life before an assassin's bullet as an exile in a strange land.

V.—Jonas Olson and the Incorporation of the Bishop Hill Colony.

When the murder of Eric Janson took place in the courtroom in Cambridge, Jonas Olson was on his way to California. Being an indifferent man of business, Eric Janson had, by injudicious management, involved the community in serious financial difficulties. It was at the time when the California gold discoveries were filling the world with wonder. Their fame penetrated even to the quiet little village of Bishop Hill, and Eric Janson was carried away by the prospect of wealth easily acquired. For the immediate purpose of obtaining relief from the financial pressure resting upon the community, he dispatched, March 18, 1850, Jonas Olson with a party of eight men to California in quest of gold.

Jonas Olson was then a man past the meridian of life. He possessed no faith in the mission upon which he was sent; but although he had pleaded hard with Eric Janson to be allowed to remain at home, he was, nevertheless, obliged to

go, for he was considered the man best fitted for the undertaking, and, moreover, his life was threatened at home by John Root, for his connection with the affair between the latter and his wife. After passing through innumerable hardships, as a result of which one of their number died soon after reaching California, the gold-seekers arrived in Hanktown on the eleventh day of August, 1850. Here the news reached them of Eric Janson's death. Jonas Olson did not hesitate what course of action to adopt. Next to Eric Janson he had been the principal member of the community. Among the Devotionalists in Helsingland, from whose ranks the great majority of the Jansonist converts were gained, he had been the recognized leader previous to the coming of Eric Janson. During the troublous times of religious persecution his extensive knowledge of men and affairs had more than once rescued the sinking cause of Jansonism. After the flight of their leader he had been the chief agent in effecting the emigration of the Jansonists. Now his gifts and attainments, which latter were not inconsiderable in a peasant, would once more be of service. In this conviction he immediately set out upon his return to Bishop Hill, taking with him a couple of his companions, leaving the rest to follow at their leisure. He arrived in Bishop Hill on the 8th of February, 1851.

Jonas Olson found the community under the control of Mrs. Janson and Andreas Berglund, who acted as the guardians of Eric Janson's son. During Eric Janson's lifetime no one had ventured to dispute the hereditary character of his office as spiritual and temporal leader of the community. The office was so described in the accepted doctrinal books, namely, in the hymn-book and catechism, both of which were composed by Eric Janson. During the storm and stress period of the Jansonist movement, when a strong and masterful hand was needed to bring matters to a successful issue, it is altogether probable that the question of who was to succeed Eric Janson in office had not occupied the serious attention of

his followers. Every one had, as a matter of fact, submitted to the absolute authority which he assumed. On the one hand, his personality was such as to admit of no mediocre opposition. On the other, his adherents' attitude of mind predisposed them to accept any claims which he might make either for himself or for his family. He was regarded as the representative of Christ. His decisions were considered infallible, for the divine will was thought to be disclosed to him by special revelation. Upon his death, however, circumstances were greatly altered. There was very little of the dignity of divinely sanctioned authority attaching to the childish prattle before the congregation of the future official mouthpiece of God. The evil results of Janson's infallible business policy were beginning fully to manifest themselves. The guardians of Janson's son could not claim infallibility of judgment, and many of the community were dissatisfied to be governed by a woman. A respectable minority of the community, while admitting Eric Janson's other claims, were not disposed to recognize those in behalf of his heir. It was this growing sentiment of dissatisfaction which Jonas Olson voiced, when, shortly after his arrival, he denounced Andreas Berglund as a usurper and demanded his abdication. He held that Eric Janson's had been a special commission, and hence the extraordinary powers and authority incident thereto could not be inheritable. The community should not, he said, recognize any formal leader whatever, but each individual member should serve the whole according to the measure of his ability and in that capacity for which he was best fitted by nature and training. Jonas Olson's standing in the community added weight to his words, and erelong the democratic element which he represented prevailed. The movement also gained strength from the operation of another circumstance. The affairs of the community were in such a condition that a strong and able man was needed to conduct it through the impending crisis. Jonas Olson was such a man, and the community instinctively looked to him for

guidance. Thus it happened that, although no formal election or transfer of power took place, the leadership quickly passed from the guardians of Eric Janson's son into the hands of Jonas Olson. With his advent into power the claims of the family of Janson retreat into the background, until upon the adoption of the charter in 1853 they practically disappear.

At the time of Janson's death the debt of the community was eight thousand dollars, which had been contracted principally in the purchase of unnecessary lands. In the summer of 1850, horses, cattle, wagons, even the crops were levied upon to satisfy the demands of the creditors. In the autumn of the year, however, the society received from various sources an accession of about eight or ten thousand dollars. A part of this money was expended in completing the brick steam flour mill, which had been begun in 1849 under the direction of Eric Janson. Soon, also, the community was able to make other improvements. An addition of one hundred feet was made to the large four-story brick tenement house. A commodious brick brewery, with a capacity of ten barrels a day, was erected for the preparation of small beer, the community's favorite beverage. Orchards were planted, and an attempt was made to raise broom-corn, which attempt succeeded so well that a contract was made to furnish a Peoria dealer with a large quantity at the remunerative price of fifty dollars a ton. The manufacture of brooms was also begun, which henceforth became a staple industry.

Under Jonas Olson's skilful management the circumstances of the community underwent a rapid and permanent improvement. But as the real and other property of the society increased, the disadvantages of not having a legal organization became apparent. It was necessary to hold property in the names of individual members, but in case of bad faith on the part of the natural heirs, complications concerning the succession might, upon the death of such members, arise in the probate courts. Hence, for the better conservation of its proprietary interests, the society decided to apply to the

State Legislature for a charter. Accordingly, on January 17, 1853, by an act of Legislature, a corporation was created, to be known as the Bishop Hill Colony.

The charter provided for a board of seven trustees, who were to hold office for life or during good behavior, but who were liable to be removed for good reasons by a majority of the male members of the colony. Vacancies in the office of trustee were to be filled in such manner as should be provided for in the by-laws. The powers of the trustees were of a most comprehensive character, enabling them generally to promote and carry out the objects and interests of the corporation, and to transact any business consistent with the benefit, support and profit of the members of the same. The business of the corporation should be manufacturing, milling, all kinds of mechanical business, agriculture, and merchandising. Furthermore, the colony might pass such by-laws concerning the government and management of its property and business, the admission, withdrawal, and expulsion of members, and the regulation of its internal policy, as it might deem proper, not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the State.

The by-laws were adopted May 6, 1854. According to these, any person sustaining a good moral character might become a member by transferring the absolute ownership of his property to the board of trustees and subscribing to the by-laws. The trustees were empowered to decide upon the moral fitness of candidates. They might, however, in their discretion, refer the question to a vote of the adult male members. On withdrawal of membership, or expulsion from the society, a person was entitled to no compensation whatever, either for the loss of property or for time spent in the service of the community. The trustees might, however, in special cases make such recompense as they should deem proper. Any person guilty of disturbing the peace and harmony of the community, or of preaching and disseminating religious doctrines contrary to those of the Bible, might be expelled. It

was to be the duty of the trustees to direct the various industrial pursuits, and generally to superintend the affairs of the community, either in person or through such agents and foremen as they might see fit to appoint. Annually, on the second Monday of January, a meeting of the adult male members was to take place for the general transaction of business. At this meeting the trustees were required to make a full and complete report of the financial condition and affairs of the society for the year ending on the Saturday next previous. Special meetings might be called by the trustees whenever the interests of the society required it. Special meetings could also be called by a majority of the adult male members, provided they signified their request to the trustees in writing five days in advance. Vacancies in the board of trustees were to be filled at an election held specially for the purpose, the person receiving the highest number of votes being elected. These by-laws might be revised, altered or amended at any regular or called meeting, by a majority of the votes cast.[1]

The adoption of the charter was a complete abandonment of the principle of hereditary leadership. It took the temporal as well as the spiritual authority out of the hands of a single individual and vested it in a board of seven trustees. In so far, the democratic movement inaugurated by Jonas Olson had found a logical conclusion. However, the popularization of the form of government was more apparent than real. According to the provisions of the by-laws, the trustees were empowered not only to regulate and direct the business and various industrial pursuits of the community, but also to decide upon the fitness of applicants for membership, as well as upon the equity of compensating retiring members. The trustees were not obliged to await the instructions of the community—only one general business meeting annually was provided for—but had the right of initiative in matters of the gravest as well as of the most trivial importance. Finally, the community had practically no check upon the trustees,

[1] For text of charter and by-laws see Appendix.

for they held office for life or during "good behavior," and could not be ousted before, either through criminality or gross incompetence, some serious injury had already been done.

The circumstances under which the instruments of incorporation were adopted are suggestive. The demand for the charter did not spring from the people. The majority of the community did not know what the charter meant, except that in some way it would protect their interests in court. They were told that the community would continue to be governed, not by human laws, but by the Word of God. They had no voice in the election of the trustees. The board of trustees was already made up when the petition to the Legislature asking for a charter was presented to the members of the community for their signatures. Indeed, the members were originally requested to affix their signatures, not to the petition itself, but to a blank sheet of paper, and it was only when a certain wrong-headed individual demanded to see the petition that it was given to the people for inspection at all.

On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that the self-appointed trustees were conscious of arrogating to themselves undue powers. The Jansonists were unaccustomed to self-government. Their leaders hardly looked upon themselves as servants of the people, but rather as authoritative interpreters of the will of God. The seven trustees in question were all persons who had been appointed to positions of trust under Eric Janson, and who therefore considered that they had a perfect right to any formal recognition of the powers which they already virtually enjoyed. In reality the distribution of authority remained very much the same as it had been before. Jonas Olson continued to be the leading spirit also in the board of trustees, and his influence was sufficient to make or mar the success of any project.

VI.—Social, Economic, and Religious Life under the Charter.

Under the improved business methods made possible by the charter, the material progress of the community was rapid and permanent. The indications of prosperity became visible on all sides, especially in the improved condition of the village, which had hitherto been built without regard to any definite plan either of convenience or of beauty. The site of the village was an elevation overlooking the surrounding country, but the beauty of the spot was marred by an unsightly ravine which intersected it from north to south. During a whole summer the trustees kept men and teams at work to remove this objectionable feature, and a park was planted where the ravine had been. The new brick houses, nearly all of which were several stories in height, were erected around this park and made looking into it. When the village was completed it contained twelve brick houses, the largest of which was two hundred by four hundred and forty-five feet, and four stories in height, besides six substantial frame buildings.

The buildings were almost entirely the product of home industry. When a new building was contemplated, invitations were extended by the trustees to the members of the community to hand in plans and specifications. The bricks were burned in the society's own kilns. The lumber, a great deal of which was oak and black walnut, was sawed in the society's saw-mill, most of the iron work was forged in the society's smithy. The masonry was executed under the supervision of August Bandholtz, a German mason, who fell in love with a blue-eyed Jansonist and married into the community.

There were no fences or outhouses to break up the symmetry of the village. The streets were lined with shade trees and were kept scrupulously clean. The stables and enormous cattle-sheds were in an enclosure by themselves at some distance from the village. The village contained a

general store and post-office, a smithy, a brewery, a bakery, a weaving establishment, a dye-house, and a hotel, together with wagon, furniture, harness, tailor and shoemaker shops. Besides, there were a hospital, a laundry, bath-houses, mills and manufactories. The store and post-office employed two clerks. The tailor shop employed six men and three women; the shoemaker shop, six men; the smithy, ten men; the wagon shop, six men. The smithy boasted seven forges, while the wagon shop was extensively known throughout the country for the excellent character of its work. The weaving establishment contained twelve reels and twelve hand-looms, besides which one hundred and forty spinning-wheels were distributed privately among the women of the community. The broom shop employed three men and nine women and turned out thirty dozen of brooms a day.

But, nevertheless, agriculture was the principal pursuit of the community—so much so that, in the busy seasons, work in the shop and in the manufactory was allowed to come almost to a standstill. Men, women, and children over fourteen years of age, worked side by side in the fields. Nobody who was able to work remained unemployed. The main farm was at Bishop Hill, but besides there were eight sub-farms, where gangs of workmen relieved each other at fixed intervals. A great deal of the unskilled labor was performed by women, for they constituted about two-thirds of the community, and the men were greatly needed in the trades. Unmarried women worked in the brick-kilns and assisted in the building operations, pitching the bricks, two at a time, from one story to another, instead of carrying them in hods. The milking was done wholly by women. Four women cared for the calves, four had charge of the hogs, and two worked in the dairy, where butter was made in an immense churn run by horse-power. Cheese was manufactured on a similarly extensive scale. There were eight laundresses, two dyers, four bakers and two brewers.

A visitor to the community in 1853 writes as follows:

"We had occasion this year to visit the colony and were received with great kindness and hospitality. Everything, seemingly, was on the top of prosperity. The people lived in large, substantial brick houses. We had never before seen so large a farm, nor one so well cultivated. One of the trustees took us to an adjacent hill, from which we had a view of the Colony's cultivated fields, stretching away for miles. In one place we noticed fifty young men, with the same number of horses and plows, cultivating a cornfield where every furrow was two miles in length. . . . In another place was a field of a thousand acres in broom-corn, the product of which, when baled, was to be delivered at Peoria for shipment to consignees in Boston, and was expected to yield an income of fifty thousand dollars. All the live stock was exceptionally fine and apparently given the best of care. There was a stable of more than one hundred horses, the equals to which it would be hard to find. One morning I was brought to an enclosure on the prairie where the cows were being milked. There must have been at least two hundred of them, and the milkmaids numbered forty or fifty. There was a large wagon, in which an immense tub was suspended, and in this tub each girl, ascending by means of a step-ladder, emptied her pail. The whole process was over in half an hour. On Sunday I attended service. There was singing and praying, and the sermon, by one of the leaders, contained nothing that a member of any Christian denomination might not hear in his own church. Altogether I retain the most agreeable remembrance of this visit."[1]

The common dining-halls and kitchen were located in a large brick building at the northwest corner of the public square. The dining-halls were two in number, one for the men and women and one for the children. The women ate at two long tables, while one table was set aside for the men.

[1] John Swainson, in his article on the Colony of Bishop Hill in the January number of *Scandinavia*, 1885.

The tables were covered with linen table-cloths, which were changed three times a week. The table service was neat, durable and substantial. Twelve waitresses served at the tables, while eighteen persons were employed in the kitchen as cooks or in other capacities. Soup was boiled in a monster kettle holding from forty to fifty gallons, and everything in the unitary cuisine was arranged on a similarly magnificent scale. The food was wholesome and substantial. No luxuries were indulged in; pastry of every description was banished, except on the great church holidays and on the Fourth of July. The abundance which prevailed was quite a contrast from the poverty of early days, when the community had been frequently obliged to observe fast-days for want of food, and when only one meal had been forthcoming on Sundays. A beef and several hogs were butchered each week. Mush and pure milk were extensively used. The bread was made of pumpkin meal and wheat flour. The beverage consisted of coffee and small beer. Nothing was allowed to go to waste, and it was estimated that the cost of board per person was about three cents a day.

Clothing was correspondingly cheap, for the society manufactured its own linen, flannel, jean and dress goods. The women cut and sewed their own clothes, while the men's suits were made at the society's tailor shop. The society dressed its own leather and made its own shoes. Every person received each year two suits of clothes, together with one pair of boots and one of shoes. On work-days the women wore blue drilling, but on holidays they appeared in calico and gingham. The men dressed either in jeans or in woolen stuffs, and wore their hair long. The society adopted no fixed styles, but nevertheless a certain uniformity of dress prevailed.

With regard to the institution of the family, its relations, at first, remained intact. Whole families occupied one-room tenements. Single persons dwelt together in separate quarters according to sex. With the exception of the modifications

imposed by the unitary cuisine, the home-life of the Jansonists differed in nowise materially from that of their neighbors under the individualistic system. But a change also in this respect was impending.

Of the twelve apostles appointed by Eric Janson to convert the world, Nils Heden alone had met with any degree of success. Besides making a number of converts, he visited several of the principal religious communistic settlements in the United States. From Hopedale, N. Y., he persuaded twenty-five or thirty persons to join the Bishop Hill Colony. He also established friendly relations with the Oneida Perfectionists of New York and the Rappists of Pennsylvania. In 1854 he made a journey to Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, which was destined to have important consequences.

The Shakers taught the Jansonists the advantages of raising small fruit, and instructed them in improved methods of dyeing wool. From Pleasant Hill also the Jansonists got improved breeds of cattle. A number of the Jansonists accepted Shakerism and went to live at Pleasant Hill, among them being the widow of Eric Janson.

On his visit in 1854, Nils Heden allowed himself to be converted to the doctrine of celibacy. Returning to Bishop Hill he won the support of Jonas Olson, who straightway proceeded to ingraft the new doctrine upon the Jansonist creed. The practice of celibacy was somewhat difficult of enforcement. Some of the members of the community objected strenuously, but they were dealt with according to article 3 of the by-laws, which provided that any person guilty of preaching and disseminating religious doctrines contrary to those of the Bible might be expelled. Thus, after a number of voluntary resignations and forcible expulsions, the opposition was broken and submission secured.

After the introduction of celibacy the families continued to live together as heretofore, only that married persons were enjoined to practice restraint in the conjugal relations, and new marriages were, of course, prohibited. Under such

circumstances celibacy could not be strictly enforced, and remained a constant source of irritation, becoming eventually a potent factor in hastening the dissolution of the community.

The Jansonists placed great value upon elementary education. Ever since the winter of 1847–8 the community had kept an English day-school, employing usually a native American as principal, and appointing one or more of its own members as assistant teachers. At one time, as stated above, the society was joined by a number of American communistic families from Hopedale, N. Y., among whom were several persons competent to teach. These families did not remain long, however, and the society was again compelled to resort to outside help.

At first the school was conducted in mud-caves or any vacant room, but later a fine brick school-house, with accommodations for several hundred pupils, was erected. The average attendance was about one hundred, the school age being limited to fourteen years. The number of school months in the year was six. Swedish was not taught in the school, and the only knowledge which the children obtained of the language was through their parents. On the whole, the Jansonists evinced a commendable zeal in acquiring and adopting the language and customs of the country. Thus, for instance, the records of the Bishop Hill Colony were kept in the English as well as in the Swedish language.

When the school days were over there were no means of continuing the studies. With the exception of the Bible, the Jansonists had destroyed all their books before leaving Sweden. Newspapers were not allowed. So there was no reading matter to be had except the Bible, the Jansonist hymn-book and catechism, and the well-worn school-books. Individuals sometimes happened upon other reading matter. Strangers stopping at the hotel occasionally left newspapers and books, which were surreptitiously circulated among the youthful members of the community. Among those who in this manner kept alive their appetite for knowledge were men since famous in letters and politics.

The church organization was loose. There was no regularly ordained clergy. Any one with the gift of expression might preach. But the general management of ecclesiastical affairs was intrusted to Jonas Olson, assisted by Olof Stenberg, Andreas Berglund, Nils Heden and Olof Aasberg. Under Jonas Olson's leadership the religious tendency was, in some respects, one of conservative retrogression. He modified some of the excesses of the Jansonist theology in a Devotionalistic direction, abolishing the Jansonist catechism altogether and thoroughly revising the hymn-book in 1857.

Thus, it will be seen, community life at Bishop Hill had its lights and its shadows. Which predominated it is impossible at this distance to say. In order to judge correctly, one must be able to comprehend the dominant motives of action. These were of a religious nature. They decided the complexion of the social and economic life. But they did not determine the intrinsic merits or demerits of the communistic system. All reasonable material wants, at any rate, were abundantly satisfied. No one was obliged to overtax his strength. Each one was put to the work for which he was best adapted. The aged and the infirm were cared for. The children were educated. Everybody was secure in the knowledge that, whatever befall, his subsistence was a certainty. On the whole, the members of the community enjoyed a greater amount of comfort and security against want than the struggling pioneer settlers by whom they were surrounded.

VII.—Disastrous Financial Speculations, Internal Dissensions, and Dissolution of the Society.

One of the grandest elements in the early development of the State of Illinois was the Illinois and Michigan Canal, connecting the Illinois and Mississippi rivers with the Great Lakes. The canal was recommended by Governor Bond in his first message to the State Legislature. In 1821 an

appropriation of ten thousand dollars was made for the purpose of surveying the route. The estimated cost of the canal was from $600,000 to $700,000. The actual cost was $8,000,000.

Pending the construction of the canal, speculation in land broke out in 1834 and 1835. From Chicago the disease spread over the State. In 1834 and 1837 it seized upon the State Legislature, which forthwith enacted a system of internal improvements without parallel in grandeur of conception. It ordered the construction of 1300 miles of railway, although the population of the State was not 400,000. The railroad projects were surpassed by the schemes for the building of canals and the improvement of rivers. There were few counties that were not touched by railroad, river or canal, and those that were not were to be compensated by the free distribution among them of $200,000. The work was to commence simultaneously upon all river crossings, and at both ends of all railroads and rivers. The appropriations were $12,00 ,000, commissioners being appointed to borrow money on the credit of the State.

About this time the State Bank was loaning its funds freely to Godfrey, Gilman & Co., and other houses, for the purpose of diverting trade from St. Louis to Alton. These houses failed and took down the bank with them. In 1840 the State was loaded with a debt of $14,000,000. There was not a dollar in the treasury, credit was gone, and the good money in circulation was not sufficient to pay the interest for a single year.

But in 1848 the Illinois and Michigan Canal was finally completed, and began turning into the treasury an annual net sum of $111,000. The industries of the State revived, and the projects for the internal development of the country were again brought forward, with the difference, however, that they were now supported by private instead of public enterprise.

In 1854 the managers of the Chicago, Burlington and

Quincy Railroad proposed to run their line into Bishop Hill. But the Jansonists, apprehensive of the probable effects of the intrusion, objected, and the railroad instead went through Galva, five miles distant. This did not prevent the Jansonists from entering upon a $37,000 contract with the company to grade a portion of the roadbed.

The manner in which Galva was founded is so illustrative of the origin of most Western towns and of the practices of railway corporations in general, that the following quotation from Kett's History of Henry County is inserted in full: "The idea of building a town upon this site was first entertained in 1853. While Messrs. J. M. & Wm. L. Wiley were traveling from Peoria County to Rock Island in the spring of that year, they were attracted by the beauty of the surrounding country, and halted their team on the ground that now forms College Park, across which the old trail led. Standing in their buggy and looking out upon the scene, one of them remarked to the other, 'Let us buy the land and lay out a town!' At this time there were only two or three buildings to be seen from that point, and the country around was one vast sea of prairie, over which the deer were still roaming at will. The land was shortly purchased by them, and after negotiating with the C. B. & Q. Railroad Company a full year, they finally secured the location of a depot upon their purchase by donating the land now owned and occupied by the company in the center of the town. In the fall of the year succeeding its purchase (1854), and about the time that the arrangement with the railroad company was effected, the town was laid out in its present shape by the gentlemen mentioned. The cars commenced running in December of the same year."[1]

On account of its location on the railroad, Galva could not fail to become an object of interest to the Bishop Hill Colony. The community purchased fifty town lots, and lent its money

[1] History of Henry County, published by H. J. Kett & Co., Chicago, pp. 168–9.

and influence towards building up the place. The station was named after the populous seaboard town of Gefle in the province of Helsingland, Sweden, although the name was soon corrupted to Galva. The Jansonists built the first house and dug the first well. Before the close of 1855 the society had erected a hotel, a general store, and a large brick warehouse, the material for which was hauled from Bishop Hill.

The Bishop Hill Colony was represented in these business enterprises by Olof Johnson, a member of the Board of Trustees. Olof Johnson was originally a peasant from Söderala Parish, So. Helsingland. He was one of the leaders appointed by Eric Janson to conduct the Jansonist emigration. Later he had been sent by Eric Janson on a business trip to Sweden. Upon the adoption of the charter he was as a matter of course given a position as trustee. When Galva became the business headquarters of Bishop Hill he was appointed by the trustees to represent them in that place. As the business in Galva increased in volume and importance it was natural that the business in Bishop Hill should also fall under his control. In so far as his plans met with Jonas Olson's approval he dictated the business policy of the community. The two supplemented each other, Jonas Olson managing the internal affairs of the community, while Olof Johnson managed its external affairs. Olof Johnson made Galva his headquarters, but otherwise spent much of his time in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Mobile, and other points where the community transacted business. He was of a hearty, social disposition, and was a universal favorite wherever he went. He was not educated, being unable even to keep his own accounts, but possessed, it was thought, great natural talent for business.

The society was now excellently organized for the purposes of economic production. The several departments of industry were under the charge of superintendents who were responsible to the Board of Trustees. Under the superintendents

were the foremen of gangs of workmen. According to a later arrangement the trustees were expected to meet every Monday evening for the consideration of the affairs of the community, and on the first Monday of every month any member might consult with the trustees on matters of general importance.

The first report of the trustees was made on January 21, 1855. According to this report the society owned 8028 acres of land, improved and unimproved, fifty town lots in Galva, improved and unimproved, valued at ten thousand dollars, also ten shares in the Central Military Track Railroad valued at one thousand dollars, together with five hundred and eighty-six head of cattle, one hundred and nine horses and mules, one thousand hogs, and divers poultry, unthreshed wheat, flax, broom-corn, etc. Furthermore, the community possessed other property to the value of $37,471.02. The entire debt amounted to only $18,000. Some idea of the effectiveness of the industrial organization may be obtained from the fact that the subsequent reports show an average annual increase in personal property alone of $44,042.96.

Meanwhile Olof Johnson was developing a brilliant, if not altogether sound business policy. He managed to make his influence paramount in the Board of Trustees, obtaining control over four of the seven votes. This made him to a certain extent independent of Jonas Olson's dictation, although the latter could by his influence with the people have prevented any scheme distasteful to him from being realized. The very fact that Jonas Olson did not choose to exercise this influence, even when he disagreed most with Olof Johnson, makes him morally responsible for the latter's disastrous financial mistakes.

Olof Johnson's idea was to make the community rich by employing its resources to build up manufactories and establish a large general business. Jonas Olson's policy, on the other hand, was distinctively an agricultural policy. At first Olof Johnson was eminently successful. Prices went

up during the Crimean war. Wheat went up from thirty-five cents to one dollar and fifty cents a bushel. Broom-corn rose from fifty dollars to a hundred and fifty dollars a ton. Oats and Indian corn advanced correspondingly. The steam flour mill at Bishop Hill was kept running night and day, turning out a hundred barrels of flour every twenty-four hours. Olof Johnson erected at Galva a pork-packing establishment and an elevator for the storage of grain. He operated a coal mine, dealt in stocks and bonds, and purchased real estate, holding at one time one hundred and sixty acres of land within the present limits of Chicago. In 1856, together with Robert C. Schenk, sometime U. S. Minister to England, and other prominent men, he planned the construction of the Western Air Line Railroad, which was to run from Fort Wayne, Indiana, through to Iowa. He made a five million dollar contract with the company to grade the roadbed from Indiana to the Mississippi, accepting one million dollars in bonds as part payment. In the same year he entered into the banking business, becoming secretary of the Nebraska Western Exchange Bank in Galva.

But after the Crimean war came the financial crisis of 1857. Illinois lost two hundred and fifty banks at one fell swoop. One of the first to go was the classic Bank of Oxford, located in the hazel-brush near Bishop Hill, and the Nebraska Western Exchange Bank soon followed. The Western Air Line Railroad shared the fate of the banks, and left the Jansonists a worthless debt of thirty-four thousand dollars for actual work performed.

The inevitable reaction against the management of the trustees set in. The people began to accuse them, and especially Olof Johnson, of transcending their powers and squandering the property of the community. The most wonderful stories were circulated concerning the extravagance of Olof Johnson. He was reported to have gambled away, in New York, a fortune in a single night. In Chicago he was said to have bribed the police with fabulous sums when

they broke in upon his midnight orgies. In St. Louis, so it was rumored, he bought a steamboat to amuse his friends for a single night, and in New Orleans, in company of Southern slave-owners, he was claimed to have lit his imported cigars with bank-notes, boasting of his white slaves in Bishop Hill who needed no bloodhounds or whipping-posts to keep them to their task.

Following the flush times preceding 1857 came a complete or partial standstill in nearly all lines of industry. The members of the community were no longer deceived and quieted by a great show of business. The disaffection which was brewing took form in 1857 in an attempt to secure the repeal of the charter. The attempt was frustrated by the judicious expenditure on the part of Olof Johnson of six thousand dollars in Springfield. But in 1858 and 1859 resolutions were passed at the annual meeting looking to the control of the actions of the Board of Trustees by the society.

On January 9, 1860, the treasurer of the community read the following annual statement of the Board of Trustees:

ASSETS.

Farm lands	$414,824 00
Galva real estate	33,228 47
Buildings and improvements	129,508 61
Horses and mules	21,520 00
Cattle account	17,088 00
Hog account	1,700 00
Sheep account	1,400 00
Poultry	50 00
Implements, farming	5,965 00
Furniture and movables	11,610 14
Steam mills	1,454 70
Boarding-house utensils	3,096 40
Mechanical department	9,092 88
Produce	4,616 00
Merchandise	4,775 60

County bonds	$56,000 00
Railroad stock	21,765 78
Western Exchange Bank stock	9,500 00
Bills receivable	46,144 45
Due from N. A. L. R. R. Co	33,826 91
Due from the estate of Radcliffe	3,907 48
Due from Stark County	6,000 00
Personal account	8,521 91
Cash	581 25
	$846,277 58

LIABILITIES.

Bills payable	74,014 56
Personal account	1,630 78
Balance	770,631 94
	$846,277 58
Balance stock on hand	$770,630 94

The accuracy of this statement was questioned and a committee was appointed to make a thorough examination of the community's books, the trustees asking for a delay of three weeks, which was granted.

Pending the examination of the books, special meetings were held by the members of the community, at which a new set of by-laws, calculated to restrict the powers of the trustees, was adopted. The preamble explains sufficiently the temper of the by-laws: "Whereas, the members of the Bishop Hill Colony have each one carefully considered and reflected upon the situation and condition of the general affairs of the Colony and the intention of its organization; and, Whereas, the general conviction has been acknowledged and expressed that the design and end for which this Colony was established never can be obtained under the present system of management; and, Whereas, the necessity requires and demands a change and reform in conducting and managing the affairs and

property of the Colony: Therefore, to effect this just and needful change, the Bishop Hill Colony has this day adopted the following by-laws."

The principal provisions of the new by-laws were as follows: The trustees might not buy or sell real estate, nor make contracts and debts binding upon the community, without the latter's express permission. The trustees were to be guided in other matters by the general instructions of the community. The general business meetings were to be held monthly instead of annually. The main office of the trustees should be in Bishop Hill and not in Galva. In case of withdrawal, members were to be entitled to fixed compensation for the property and labor which they had contributed to the society.[1] The trustees, however, refused to acknowledge the legality of the meetings in which the by-laws had been adopted. As they persistently declined to appear in the monthly meetings, or to render any account whatever of their management, a resolution was passed, in which they were declared to have forfeited the confidence of the community and were requested to hand in their resignations. The resolution failed of its object.

In October, 1860, Olof Johnson, as the principal offender, was formally deposed from office. But he secured an injunction against the Bishop Hill Colony, and had himself, together with certain of his friends, appointed receivers to wind up the affairs of the corporation. For on February 14, 1860, a plan had been agreed upon looking to the dissolution of the society and the allotment in severalty of the communal property. This plan provided for a preliminary extra-legal division of property between the Olson and the Johnson parties, the former receiving two hundred and sixty-five shares out of a total of four hundred and fifteen. By being appointed a receiver for the Bishop Hill Colony, Olof Johnson got control, not only of the shares belonging to his own, but also of those belonging to the opposite party.

[1] For complete text see Appendix.

On May 24, 1861, in order to prevent any inconveniences which might arise from the infringement of legal technicalities and to facilitate the final individualization of the property, Olof Johnson was not only reinstated as a trustee, but was also invested with powers of attorney to settle with the creditors of the community. Property more than sufficient to extinguish all claims against the society was set aside for that purpose, and the trustees were given five years in which to accomplish the work, an annual report of progress being required.

In the spring of 1861 the Johnson party perfected the individualization of its property, each member entering upon the complete possession of his share. The distribution was made on the following basis: To every person, male and female, that had attained the age of thirty-five years, a full share of all lands, timber, town lots, and personal property was given. A full share consisted of twenty-two acres of land, one timber lot—nearly two acres—one town lot, and an equal part of all barns, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, or other domestic animals, and all farming implements and household utensils. All under this age received a share corresponding in amount and value to the age of the individual, no discrimination being shown to either sex. The smallest share was about eight acres of land, a correspondingly small town lot and timber lot, and part of the personal property. Thus a man over thirty-five years of age, having a wife of that age or over, would receive considerable property to manage. He held that of his wife and children in trust, the deeds being made in the name of the head of the family.

In the spring of the following year the Olson party followed suit, so that after March, 1862, the Bishop Hill Colony was practically extinct. It is a singular fact that this division, comprising, among other property, no less than about twelve hundred acres of land, has always been regarded as thoroughly just, and it is believed no complaint has ever been raised against it.

The members of the community now considered that their financial troubles were at an end. But they were grievously mistaken. The trustees made no reports. On the contrary, in 1865, Olof Johnson assessed the individualized lands ten dollars an acre, which assessment, aside from the property already reserved by the trustees, was sufficiently large to pay the entire debt of the community. In 1868 an additional assessment of eleven dollars per acre was made. This was more than the members would stand, and on July 27, 1868, a committee was appointed to bring suit by bill in chancery against the trustees. In this suit, the special master in chancery, in referring to the trustees' financial statement of January 9, 1860, said: "Upon the making of said report . . . the Colony, at the same meeting where the said report was made, appointed a committee to examine and revise all the accounts of the Colony for the past year and make report. After the appointment of the committee and before they were given access to the Colony books for examination, new books were made up under the direction of some of the trustees, and these new books, instead of the original, were shown to the said committee for their examination. The difference between the new and original books is the said sum of $42,759.33. Upon my order to the said trustees to produce the Colony books, the said new books, and not the original, were produced." The special master found that, at the date of his report, Olof Johnson and the trustees were indebted to the Bishop Hill Colony in the sum of $109,619.29.

It is not the intention to rehearse the details of this tedious and expensive lawsuit. Some of the principals are still living. The suit impoverished many, and destroyed much of the harmony and good-will which still existed at the dissolution of the society. The "Colony Case" lasted twelve years, and was famous in its day among the legal fraternity in Illinois. After the death of Olof Johnson, in 1870, it languished until, in 1879, it was ended on the basis of a compromise.

VIII.—Conclusion.

In concluding this monograph upon the history of the Bishop Hill Colony, it will be profitable to inquire what were the principal advantages of the communistic system, and what were the principal causes of its failure.

One immediate cause of failure was, of course, the disastrous financial management for which the Board of Trustees, and especially Olof Johnson, were responsible. The defects of the charter and first set of by-laws, which hardly left the community a supervisory control in the management of its own affairs, have been reviewed. Under the circumstances it was not surprising that the trustees, well-intentioned as they undoubtedly were, should be tempted to exercise their powers to further arbitrary schemes of aggrandizement. This temptation was increased by the speculative temper of the general business world in the flush times preceding 1857.

A second cause of failure was the religious tyranny exercised by the Board of Trustees, and especially by Jonas Olson. This tyranny culminated in the arbitrary introduction of celibacy, in the accomplishment of which drastic measures were freely resorted to. In 1859, religious dissensions ran so high that all community of worship was apparently destroyed. A strong reformatory party, led by Nils Heden, demanded and obtained important concessions from the Board of Trustees, which, however, led to no permanent conciliatory results.

A third cause was the importation of ideas and habits of thought antagonistic to the communal life. This was due to the building of railroads, and to improved means of communication generally with the outside world. Even under ordinary circumstances the transferring of interests from one generation to another is a delicate and painful process. Under the peculiar circumstances which obtained in Bishop Hill, it was perhaps impossible of accomplishment. The communism of the Jansonists was founded upon a religious

basis. As soon as this basis should be withdrawn, the superstructure was destined to fall. And that is what happened, for with the death of its founder, Jansonism rapidly went into decay. At the best there was little attraction in the religious life in Bishop Hill.

The advantages of the system were such as were derived either from the application of the collectivist principle in the process of production, or from an equal distribution of economic goods. Labor was saved, consumption of every description was reduced, starvation was impossible. Yet, while the Jansonists fared well materially, and while it is true they laid stress upon elementary education, the general intellectual life was exceedingly restricted. But perhaps it was not any more so than that of the back-woodsmen by whom they were surrounded. One thing is certain, the Jansonists displayed a wonderful amount of skill and ingenuity in all trades and mechanical arts.

When the allotment in severalty took place, the majority of the Jansonists left Bishop Hill and moved out upon their farm lands. The division took place in a fortunate period. During the War of Secession, high prices were obtained for agricultural produce, and the more thrifty and fortunate were enabled to accumulate handsome competences.

Of the persons who have figured in the foregoing pages the majority are now dead. John Root was sentenced to imprisonment for two years in the State penitentiary. He died some years after his release, friendless and penniless, in Chicago. Mrs. Eric Janson, once so handsome and gifted and powerful, ended her days in the County Poor House in 1888, and lies buried in the community's burying-ground at Bishop Hill. Eric Janson, Jr., grew to manhood in Bishop Hill, and is now a successful newspaper editor in Holdrege, Nebraska. Jonas Olson still preaches occasionally in the Old Colony Church, and although his voice trembles and his frame shakes, the fire of the old-time eloquence is not wholly wanting. It is well that his eyes are growing dim, for the

congregation which greets him is becoming piteously small, and looks grotesquely out of place in such a pretentious house of worship. The majority of the Jansonists have joined the Methodist communion, and even Jonas Olson no longer adheres to the old faith, but is now an independent Second Day Adventist.

The present town of Bishop Hill numbers only three hundred and thirty-three inhabitants. The shops and the mills and the manufactories are empty, and the very dwelling-houses are going to ruin. In the light of the past, it is truly a Deserted Village. But the spruce and the elm and the black walnut saplings that were planted in the days of the Colony have grown into magnificent shade trees, and speak of the glory of the past.

APPENDIX.

The Charter of the Bishop Hill Colony.

An Act incorporating the Bishop Hill Colony at Bishop Hill, in Henry County.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in General Assembly, that Olof Johnson, John[1] Olson, James Ericson, Jacob Jacobson, Jonas Kronberg, Swan Swanson, Peter Johnson, and their associates and successors be, and they are hereby constituted and appointed, a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of "The Bishop Hill Colony," and by that name they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession, shall be capable of suing and being sued, defending and being defended, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered, within all courts and places whatsoever, and they may have a common seal, to alter or change the same at pleasure; may purchase and hold or convey real and personal property necessary to promote and fully carry out the objects of said corporation.

The number of Trustees shall be seven, and the above-named persons are hereby appointed and constituted Trustees of said corporation.

Section 2. The real and personal estate held and owned by said Trustees, in their corporate capacity, shall be held and used for the benefit, support, and profit of the members of the Colony.

Section 3. The business of said corporation shall be manufacturing, milling, all kinds of mechanical business, agriculture and merchandising.

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[1] Anglicized for Jonas.

SECTION 4. The said Trustees, above appointed, shall hold their office during good behavior, but are liable to be removed, for good reason, by a majority of the male members of said Colony.

SECTION 5. All vacancies in the office of Trustees, either by removal, death, resignation, or otherwise, shall be filled in such manner as shall be provided by the by-laws of such corporation.

SECTION 6. The said Trustees and their successors in office may make contracts, purchase real estate, and again convey the same, whenever they shall see proper so to do, for the benefit of the Colony.

SECTION 7. All the real estate heretofore conveyed by any person or persons to the Trustees of the Bishop Hill Society, shall be, and the titles to said lands are hereby invested in the said Trustees above appointed, for the uses and purposes above specified.

SECTION 8. The said Bishop Hill Colony may pass such by-laws concerning the government and management of the property and business of said Colony, and the admission, withdrawal and expulsion of its members, and regulating its internal policy and for other purposes, directly connected with the business and management of said Colony, as they may deem proper, not inconsistent with the Constitution and by-laws of the State.

SECTION 9. This act shall be deemed and taken as a public act, and shall be construed liberally for the benefit of said Colony.

THE OLD BY-LAWS OF THE BISHOP HILL COLONY.

ARTICLE 1. Any person sustaining a good moral character may become a member of this Colony by transferring to the trustees thereof all his or her real and personal property, and subscribing to these by-laws. The Board of Trustees shall determine the question of moral character and admis-

sion, and a majority of said trustees shall constitute a quorum for that purpose. The trustees may, in their discretion, refer the question of admission to a vote of the adult male members of the Colony.

ARTICLE 2. The property which any person on becoming a member of this Colony shall transfer to the trustees thereof, shall become forever thereafter the absolute property of the Colony; and on withdrawal or discontinuance of membership by any person, he shall not be entitled to compensation or pay for any services or labor he may have performed during the time he may have been a member; but it shall be at the option of the trustees to give to such person such things, whether money or property, as they, the trustees, shall deem right or proper.

ARTICLE 3. Any member who shall be guilty of disturbing the peace and harmony of this society, by vicious or wicked conduct, or by preaching and disseminating doctrines of a religious belief contrary to the doctrines of the Bible which are generally received and believed by this Colony, may be expelled.

ARTICLE 4. It shall be the duty of the trustees of said Colony to regulate and direct the various industrial pursuits and business of said Colony in person or by such agents or foremen as they may see fit to appoint from time to time, and to require such agents or foremen to account to them in such manner and at such time as they, the trustees, shall deem convenient and proper.

ARTICLE 5. There shall be held annually, on the second Monday of January in each year, a meeting of the adult male members of said Colony for the general transaction of business, at which time the Board of Trustees shall make a full and complete report of the financial condition and affairs of the Colony for the year ending on the Saturday next previous to such meeting. But the Board of Trustees, or a majority of them, may call special meetings of the adult male members of the Colony for the consideration and transaction

of business, whenever in their opinion the interests of the Colony require it. And a special meeting shall convene whenever a majority of the male adult members of the Colony shall require such meeting, by signifying their request to the trustees in writing five days previous to such meeting.

ARTICLE 6. Our property and industry and the proceeds thereof shall constitute a common fund, from, by and with which it shall be the duty of the Board of Trustees to provide for the subsistence, comfort and reasonable wants of every member of the Colony, for the support of the aged and infirm, for the care and cure of the sick and the burial of the dead, and for the proper education of our children, and generally to do and transact any and all business necessary to the prosperity, happiness and usefulness of the Colony, and consistent with the charter organizing the same.

ARTICLE 7. Whenever a vacancy shall occur in the Board of Trustees, the same shall be filled at an election held for that purpose by the adult male members of the Colony, and the person receiving the highest number of votes shall be trustee.

ARTICLE 8. These by-laws may be revised, altered or amended at any regular or called meeting of the adult male members of the Colony, by a majority of those present and voting at such meeting.

THE NEW BY-LAWS OF THE BISHOP HILL COLONY.

ARTICLE 1. All heretofore adopted by-laws, orders, decisions and commissions, either to the trustees, or issued by the trustees to any of them, or to other persons belonging or not belonging to the Colony, that have heretofore been in force, are hereby, to all power and value, repealed.

ARTICLE 2. All persons who according to the former by-laws have become members of this Colony and are now residing within this Colony, shall be members under these by-laws, and be entitled to all the rights and benefits that these by-laws prescribe.

ARTICLE 3. In accordance with the charter dated January 17, A. D. 1853, organizing this Colony, the trustees may buy and sell real and personal property and make contracts; but in conformity with the 1st and 8th sections of said charter, the Colony does hereby decree that the trustees shall not buy or sell real estate or make contracts, or contract debts for which the Colony shall be holden, unless the Colony has in a general meeting been heard and has decided on all the stipulations in regard to such purchases, sale, contracts or indebtedness, as the Colony may consider best to carry out the intention of its organization.

ARTICLE 4. The trustees shall carefully regulate the affairs, works, and industrial pursuits of the Colony; make purchases, sales, and conduct the finances in accordance with such ordinances and instructions as the Colony may, in general meeting, from time to time adopt and issue.

ARTICLE 5. Foremen of shops, mechanical establishments, and agricultural departments shall be chosen by the Colony, and such foremen shall account to the trustees at such time and in such manner as the trustees may direct for the business that such foremen may execute.

ARTICLE 6. The Colony may adopt such rules of order as necessity may require to promote morality, decency, justice and equity between the members.

ARTICLE 7. On the second Monday in each month, at 9 o'clock A. M., there shall be a general meeting of the adult male members of the Colony, for the transaction of the general business of the Colony. All motions introduced at such meetings shall be put to vote, and the motion shall be decided according to the will of the majority, as expressed by the vote. These votings shall, if not otherwise decided, be made in such manner that the names of the members shall be called, whereupon each member shall respond to the call of his name with "aye" or "no," and shall thereby signify whether he is voting for or against the motion; "aye" signifying approbation of the motion, and "no" signifying disapprobation of

the same. At these meetings the trustees shall render and deliver a report and full account of the affairs of the Colony and the management of the same for the month ending next before such meeting, and also a summary account of the affairs of the Colony up to the time of that meeting at which such account is rendered.

ARTICLE 8. The Colony may, whenever it shall so decide, elect five men, who shall constitute a committee for an examination, investigation, and inspection of the reports, accounts and transactions of the trustees; and it shall be the duty of the trustees to deliver to the said investigating committee such documents as said committee may call for for such examination, investigation and inspection; and the trustees shall also give such information and explanation as the said committee may see proper to demand. The investigation ordered at the general meeting of the 9th of January, A. D. 1859, shall proceed according to the instructions, or in the manner that may be hereafter directed.

ARTICLE 9. Should a vacancy occur in the Board of Trustees, either by death, resignation, removal or discharge, such vacancy shall be filled at a general meeting by a vote of the male members of the Colony, and the person who shall receive the highest number of votes shall be trustee.

ARTICLE 10. The affairs and transactions of the Colony shall be done in the name of the Colony. The trustees and the other officers shall have a common office at Bishop Hill, but at no other place, where the affairs shall be transacted and recorded.

ARTICLE 11. The income of the Colony shall be used for the support, clothing and subsistence of the members of the Colony and their families, for the education of their children, medical aid and care of the sick, and the funeral expenses of the dead; and all these expenses shall be paid from the common funds, and the surplus, after the debts of the Colony are liquidated, shall be used as the Colony may prescribe.

ARTICLE 12. Should any of the members wish to leave,

withdraw, and discontinue their membership in the Colony, they shall signify their intention at a general meeting, or before one of the trustees of the Colony; and such withdrawing or discontinuing member shall be entitled to compensation for the work he or she may have performed for the Colony; which compensation shall be computed and paid in such a manner that each and every person now residing in the Colony who is a member thereof, or has resided in the Colony for the last five years with the intention and promise to become a member of the Colony, shall be entitled to an equal amount of money for every six months he or she resides at Bishop Hill or in the Colony, after the time he or she has attained the age of eighteen years; which amount of money shall be fixed and calculated after the value of the real and personal estate belonging to the Colony, with deductions of the liabilities, in such a manner that all the separate amounts put together shall make the net balance of the value of the real and personal property of the Colony, according to the valuation of the property. And any person who signifies his or her intention to leave or withdraw from the membership shall receive the compensation for the work in the Colony according to such calculations, but such person's membership shall not cease before the said compensation has been respectively paid over to the proper person.

To find out the right value of the real and personal property, that the amount of compensation can with certainty be calculated and computed, the Colony shall appoint two disinterested and skillful persons, and these two persons shall select a third person who shall make a complete inventory and a true valuation of the real and personal property of the Colony, which inventory and valuation shall be completed before the first of June next: before this time, or the first of June next, the Trustees shall make a true statement of all the liabilities and claims of or on the Colony, and the net balance of the assets shall be the amount according to which the compensation, as has heretofore been stated, shall be